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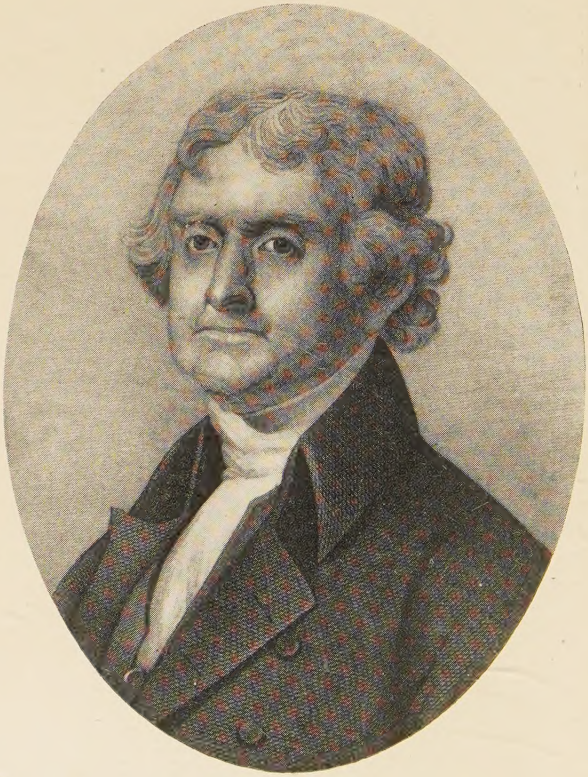
A SHORT HISTORY OF OREGON

"In the continuous woods
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,
Save his own dashings."

— THANATOPSIS.



Th Jefferson

A SHORT

HISTORY OF OREGON

EARLY DISCOVERIES—THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPLORATION—SETTLEMENT—GOVERNMENT—INDIAN WARS—PROGRESS

COMPILED BY

SIDONA V. JOHNSON

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TO GEORGE H. HIMES, Assistant Secretary and Curator of the Oregon Historical Society, and author of the "History of the Willamette Valley," which comprehensive and valuable work has been freely used in the preparation of "A Short History of Oregon," this book is respectfully inscribed by the writer.

FOREWORD

FOR those whose manifold duties and pleasures preclude the possibility of acquainting themselves with historical detail of the many interesting sections of our country, concerning which all desire to be informed, this "Short History of Oregon" has been carefully compiled from the leading accepted authorities on the subject. Accuracy, brevity, and continuity have been uppermost in the writer's mind, and this little story of a vast and wonderful portion of the United States is offered with a feeling of confidence that the historical interest and charm are not marred by the brevity of the tale, and that it will be welcomed by the many who are not in position to read voluminous history.

S. V. J.

PORTLAND, OREGON,
June 15, 1904

DOMINICAN COLLEGE

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PART ONE.

DISCOVERY.

A SHORT HISTORY OF OREGON.

CHAPTER I.

The Sixteenth Century.

THE discovery of America by Columbus inaugurated an era of exploration in which Spain, then nearing the height of her national greatness, was a most active and aggressive leader. Following is a very brief summary of the discoveries and conquests by which she gained first place in territorial dominion and influence in the New World.

In 1495, three years after the memorable voyage of Columbus, the island of Hayti was conquered and named "Española."

In 1511 the island of Cuba was invaded by three hundred men and conquered in the name of the King of Spain.

In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Darien and discovered the great South Sea, of which the natives had so confidently spoken that it had already

found a place on the maps of European geographers. Seven years later Magellan entered it through the straits that bear his name, and christened it "Pacific."

In 1519 Cortez landed in Mexico, and with an army of nine hundred and fifty soldiers and a great cloud of Indian auxiliaries invaded the ancient kingdom of the Montezumas, which he completely subjugated in two years. He named the country "Nueva España." Ten years later Pizarro entered Peru with a thousand men, and subdued and plundered that country.

In 1535 Mendoza entered Buenos Ayres at the head of two thousand men, and subjugated the country as far as Potosi, whose famous mines of silver were discovered nine years later.

In 1537 Cortez, seeking further conquests to the westward of Mexico, landed at Santa Cruz, near the lower extremity of the peninsula of California, but finding neither wealth nor civilized nations, and being unable to sustain his force in such a barren land, soon abandoned his effort at colonization and returned to Mexico.

In 1541 Chile was conquered by the restless adventurers of Spain.

By the middle of the sixteenth century Spain had conquered and colonized every portion of America inhabited by wealthy and semi-civilized nations, and was enjoying a revenue of almost fabulous amount from her provinces in the New World. Portugal alone, of all her rivals, had accomplished anything of a similar nature, having planted a colony in Brazil. England and France had succeeded simply in laying a foundation for a claim of dominion in North America, but, unlike their enterprising rival, received as yet no revenue from the New World.

Such, in bare outline, was the trend of events at the time of the voyages which resulted in the discovery of the coast of Oregon.

Very soon after the American continent had been discovered, and before anything was known as to its form and extent, the existence of a northwest passage from the Atlantic Ocean through the newly discovered continent to the Indian seas was surmised, and the voyages of discovery mentioned herein, and many others, were prompted by the eager desire of European nations to find such a passage. Continuous

efforts to accomplish this extended over nearly three centuries, and were participated in by seven of the leading nations of the world, — England, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russia, and the United States.

Upon this definite mission of discovery, in 1500, Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese navigator, explored the Atlantic coast of North America, and sailing around the coast of Labrador entered the straits which lie in the sixtieth degree of north latitude. Through these he passed into Hudson's Bay, believing that he had entered waters which communicated with the Indian Ocean. Absurd as this supposition is in the light of our present knowledge of the earth's surface, it was by no means so when the geographical ideas and theories prevailing at that time are considered. It must be remembered that eight years had not yet passed since the voyage of Columbus had compelled the world to accept the theory which he and a few others had for years been enthusiastically advocating, — that the earth was round and could be encompassed by travelling either east or west. Though this was now generally admitted, no one

had ever actually accomplished the journey, and in consequence the distance around the globe was a matter simply of conjecture. A few years later the ideas of geographers in regard to the size of the world began to expand, and with the discovery of the South Sea all belief in the proximity of the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean vanished.

In 1520 Magellan, sailing under the flag of Spain, entered the South Sea through straits which bear his name, and bestowed the name "Pacific" upon it. The voyage was continued westward until the world had been circumnavigated, and an approximate idea of the distance around it was thus gained by geographers. Interest was immediately revived in a possible northwest water way, it being then supposed that Cortereal's passage into Hudson's Bay led from the Atlantic into the South Sea, with the immensity of which the world had become deeply impressed since Magellan had traversed this in its broadest part. If the North American continent narrowed northward as South America had been found to do in the opposite direction, then it must be but a short distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific in the region of Labrador; and

since a passage had been found through the land to the south — for in their ignorance of the open sea below South America geographers believed Magellan's Straits to be simply a narrow water-way piercing the heart of the continent where it was much narrower than elsewhere — it was reasonable to suppose that a similar one existed to the north, especially since Cortereal had reported finding it. To discover this northwest passage was the desire of explorers for many years thereafter. England, France, and Portugal, and Holland in later years, sought it in the Atlantic, while Spain put forth her efforts to attain the same object in the Pacific; and to these latter efforts are due the discovery of Oregon and the complete exploration of the Pacific coast.

When Cortez had subjugated Mexico he at once began constructing vessels on the western coast of Central America for service in the Pacific Ocean. His voyaging resulted in the discovery and temporary colonization of Lower California, the discovery of the Colorado River, and the knowledge that the Sea of Cortez, or the Vermilion Sea, was a gulf, the one now known as the Gulf of California.

The first attempt to pass around the southern extremity of the peninsula of California and follow the outer coast northward was made in 1539. At this time the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude was reached. Another navigator in 1542 went as far as the thirty-eighth degree; and Bartolome Ferrelo, in March, 1543, reached the farthest point to the northward, which is given by some authorities as latitude 44°, and by others as 43°. Other historians, including Bancroft, do not accord him even so high a latitude as 43°. However, this makes but little difference, as he progressed as far as Rogue River, and possibly to the Umpqua River, and can safely be credited with the discovery of Oregon, so far as sailing along its coast without making a landing or even drawing a chart of its outline may be deemed to constitute a discovery. Lack of provisions, and the ravages of the dreaded scurvy among his crew, compelled Ferrelo to abandon the effort to proceed farther.

In 1564 the Philippine Islands were subdued and taken possession of in the name of the Spanish monarch. In a few years an enormous revenue was derived from this new dependency, which was for nearly a

quarter of a century monopolized by Spain. Cargo after cargo crossed the Pacific, and not a hostile sail was to be seen on the bosom of the ocean. On the Atlantic side, however, things wore a different aspect. Armed fleets were necessary to protect Spain's merchantmen from the men-of-war sent out to cut them off in times of national disputes, and from the piratical crafts that infested the West Indies at all seasons. These "freebooters," or "buccaneers," plied their calling in the Atlantic even in times of peace, with the full knowledge and even encouragement of their sovereigns. They well knew the value of the cargoes carried from the Philippines in the unarmed galleons, and sought diligently for some route into the Pacific other than the dangerous one by way of the Straits of Magellan.

At last, however, unable to find the long-sought passage, buccaneers invaded the Pacific by the dreaded Straits of Magellan, and the security of Spanish shipping in the South Sea vanished forever.

The pioneer of this plundering band was Francis Drake, an English seaman of much renown, a daring spirit and an expert mariner. With three vessels he thus passed into

the Pacific, in 1579, upon a mission of plunder. An East India galleon with its precious cargo fell into his hands off the California coast, and then, with his vessel loaded with plunder, he sailed northward to search for the Straits of Anian, which were supposed to lead into the Atlantic, and thus reach England by a new route. He failed utterly to find any such passage, though how thoroughly he searched the coast is unknown; and even the extent of his voyage to the north is a matter of much dispute. By some authorities it is given as latitude 43°, and by others as 48°. If Drake did not proceed beyond latitude 43°, then he made no further progress north than did the Spaniard Ferrelo thirty-five years before, and was not entitled to the honor of discovering any new region on the Pacific coast. In the nature of things this controversy can never be settled, and Drake and Ferrelo will ever bear the divided honor of the discovery of Oregon.

Drake bestowed upon California the name "New Albion," in honor of his native land.

In 1595 the Spanish monarch, Philip II., issued a mandate to the Mexican viceroy, ordering him to make a survey of the Pacific

coast *at his own expense.* The reasons given for this royal order were twofold: to search for the Straits of Anian; and to find a suitable harbor of refuge for vessels in the Philippine trade, the latter belonging mostly to his Majesty.

The viceroy of Mexico did not feel an interest in the Straits of Anian or the California coast deep enough to render him eager to explore them *at his own expense,* as commanded by the king; but not daring to disobey the royal dictum, a few feeble attempts were made to comply with the king's command, the only one deserving mention here being the voyage of Viscaino, in 1602, which proceeded north as far as latitude 42°, where Viscaino observed a large white bluff, upon which he bestowed the title of "San Sebastian." Discouraged by the unfavorable weather and the terrible sufferings of his crew from scurvy, Viscaino returned to Mexico as rapidly as possible. For several years thereafter Viscaino persistently urged the viceroy and also the king to continue these explorations, but he died before success had attended his efforts.

For a century and a half thereafter Spain made no further attempt to explore the coast

of California. On their home voyage the East India vessels first sighted land in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, and then followed the coast south to Mexico; but north of that the Pacific coast of North America remained unknown for ages. The secret of this apparent apathy was the unwillingness of the viceroys to explore new regions at their own expense.

CHAPTER II.

The Northwest Passage and the Hudson's Bay Company.

EARLY in the seventeenth century several important voyages were made by English mariners on the Atlantic coast in search of the Northwest Passage, all of which bear a close relation to the more direct steps taken on the Pacific side in the discovery of Oregon. Notable among these were the voyages of John Davis in 1588, Henry Hudson in 1608, and William Baffin in 1616. Other explorers followed these more noted ones, and examined the coast carefully as far north as the seventy-fifth parallel; but the Northwest Passage remained undiscovered.

Included in the historical lore covering the long search for the Northwest Passage are many tales which are now considered fictitious. Among these, of passing interest here, is the claim, made in 1609 by Mal-

donado, a Portuguese, of having in 1588 discovered the Northwest Passage into the South Sea; also the tale bestowing upon Juan de Fuca, a Greek, a similar distinction. The documents purporting to be a description of Juan de Fuca's voyage, in 1592, through the great straits connecting the Pacific Ocean with Puget Sound attracted wide attention, and although now considered not sufficiently authentic to establish even Juan de Fuca's discovery of the Straits of Fuca, those straits bear his name.

About this time England became convulsed by civil war, and America was neglected for half a century. Meanwhile an important discovery was made in an opposite direction, — one most disastrous to Spain's commerce in the Pacific Ocean. This was the discovery by two Dutch navigators, Schouten and Lemaire, of the open sea south of the dreaded Straits of Magellan, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This opened a route to all nations into the Pacific Ocean, — one which Spain could neither monopolize nor defend; and privateers of the three nations hostile to Spain swarmed into the South Sea and plundered her commerce.

When the long fratricidal war in England was over, attention was once more directed toward America.

The belief that the Northwest Passage could be found only through Hudson's Bay was then a general one, and to aid in its discovery, in 1670 Charles II. granted almost royal privileges in America to a company of his subjects. This charter was granted in consideration of their agreement to search for this passage. The twofold object — that of the king and that of the company — was expressed in the charter which created "The Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay," in the following words, "for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding of some trade in furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities." The company was granted the exclusive right of the "trade and commerce of all those seas, straits and bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called Hudson's Straits."

Of this region, which embraced all that vast territory draining into Hudson's Bay, this company was given absolute control to

Meriwether Lewis

the exclusion of all persons whomsoever. It was constituted "for all time hereafter." The annual rent of this great empire was "two elks and two black beavers," which the king, if he desired to have it paid, must go upon the land and collect for himself. The company has few rent receipts to exhibit.

This is the organization known in history as "The Hudson's Bay Company," a name vivid in the memory of Oregon pioneers. A splendid thing this charter was to the company, but it became an obstacle in the pathway of England's progress in America. But for the selfish policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, Oregon would to-day be a province of Great Britain.

The Hudson's Bay Company soon learned that its true interests lay, not in finding the Northwest Passage, but in preventing the discovery of it altogether. This it was able to accomplish, and to keep the government and every one else not connected with the organization in complete ignorance of the region in which it was doing a business which assumed gigantic proportions in a few years.

Thus it happened that for a whole century after the granting of this magnificent char-

ter no efforts of consequence were made by England to discover the Straits of Anian, the Hudson's Bay Company being able to prevent or bring to grief all expeditions of this character. Although this greatly desired passage remained undiscovered, it actually appeared on maps in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The origin of the name is not definitely ascertainable, but is probably explained by the fact that "Ania" was the name given on the oldest maps to the northwest part of America.

CHAPTER III.

Discovery of Behring's Straits and Alaska and Beginning of the Fur Trade in the Pacific Ocean.

IN 1728, when a century and more had elapsed during which no voyage was attempted in the North Pacific Ocean, Vitus Behring, a Danish navigator of skill and experience, sailing under the Russian flag, began a series of explorations along the east coast of Asia. He found Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea, which he named, and then sailed a southeasterly course for many days, reaching latitude 46° without having encountered land. This is the latitude of the Columbia River, but how near the coast of America he approached at that point is not recorded.

Behring then continued his voyage to the northeast until he had ascended to the sixtieth degree, when he discovered land, the first thing to meet his gaze being a giant

snow-crowned peak. This he named Mount St. Elias. His vessel sailed into a passage leading between the mainland and a large island, when Behring discovered that the water was discolored, as though it had been discharged from a large river, the volume indicating the stream to be the water drain of a land of continental proportions. That this continent was America no one on board doubted. The subordinate officers desired to explore the coast southward in the direction of the Spanish colonies, but Behring, who was then in ill health, refused to do so, and started upon the return voyage, which was a series of disasters and indescribable hardships. The explorers spent the winter on Behring's Isle, where Behring and many of his men died and were buried.

Accompanying Behring on his last voyage was a German surgeon and scientist named Steller, and his journal, which was not published until 1795, long after the Alaskan coast had been thoroughly explored by Spanish, Russian, English, and American navigators, is the only record preserved of the adventures and terrible sufferings endured by the discoverers of Alaska. The general features of the voyage, however,

were well known in Europe soon after its fatal termination. The skins which the survivors wore when they returned were found to be exceedingly valuable, — probably seal, Alaska sable, and sea otter, — and several private expeditions were fitted out by Russian traders to visit the islands lying to the eastward in search of furs. In this way the fur trade of the Pacific began, and before the Russian government was prepared for another expedition this trade had reached considerable proportions.

The increasing value of the fur business led the Russian government to despatch other exploring expeditions in 1766 and 1769. They found the coast, wherever they reached the mainland at all, fringed with islands, and the sea through which they passed dotted with them. That the land on the east side of Behring's Straits was of considerable proportions was evident. This they called "Alaska," or "Aliaska," and supposed it to be a large island. In 1774 a map was prepared representing Russian ideas of the geography of Russian America. Upon this the coast of America was represented as running northwesterly from California to the seventieth degree of latitude,

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which was its extreme northern and western limit. Lying between America and Asia in that latitude was a vast sea of islands, of which the largest was Alaska, with only the channel of Behring's Straits separating it from the coast of Asia.

It remained for an Englishman, the celebrated Captain Cook, only a few years later to reveal to them their error. He commanded the first English vessel to visit the North Pacific, and in one voyage straightened out the geographical tangle the Russians had made in Alaska, and reformed the ideas the Spaniards entertained about the coast they had several times explored farther to the south.

CHAPTER IV.

Relative Claims of Contending Nations in North America.

IN order to fully understand the various acts of each which led to the discovery and settlement of Oregon, it is now necessary to consider the relative claims of the contending nations in North America. To do this requires a return to the seventeenth century.

The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, participated in by England, France, Spain, Holland, and Germany, which established in large measure the peace of Europe, contained a provision defining the boundaries of the colonial possessions of the various rival nations in America. This was definite and positive, but, owing to the crude ideas of American geography which prevailed at that time, was imperfect in many respects.

Florida, as the Spanish possessions north of Mexico were called, was bordered on the

north by the Carolinas, but farther west the boundaries were quite indefinite, conflicting with the Louisiana of the French. France claimed as Louisiana all north of the mouth of the Mississippi and west of the Alleghanies, the western boundary being indefinite because no one knew how far toward the west the continent extended. France also claimed the region of the St. Lawrence and the chain of Great Lakes under the general title of Canada, these two provinces joining and interlacing without any line of division either expressed or understood. The Hudson's Bay country was also claimed by France, though not with much persistence, and it was at that time actually in the possession of England, in the person of the Hudson's Bay Company. The English colonies were east of the Alleghanies, from Maine to Georgia. In 1713 France relinquished to England her claim upon the Hudson's Bay region, and turned her attention to strengthening her position in Canada and Louisiana.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, French explorers and Jesuit missionaries traversed the Mississippi valley, established

a chain of stations between Canada and Louisiana, among them the city of St. Louis, and even penetrated the unknown wilderness lying between the head waters of the Mississippi and the "Shining Mountains," as they first called the Rocky Mountains, whose snowy sides and lofty spires of rock reflected the bright rays of the sun for hundreds of miles. The most noted of these French pioneers were La Salle, Père Marquette, Baron La Hontan, Chevalier La Verendrye and his sons, Father Hennepin, Dupratz, and Charlevoix. Nearly all of these wrote accounts of their travels, gave descriptions of the country and the native tribes, and from their own observations and the information gleaned from the Indians made maps of that region, embracing a little which they knew and a great deal which they guessed at.

One feature is very prominent in the reports of nearly all these early French explorers, — the fact that beyond the "Shining Mountains" was a large river flowing westward to the "Great Water," in the latitude of the head waters of the Mississippi. This they learned from the Indians with whom they came in contact. Coming from different tribes, through sources that were recog-

nized as being totally distinct, it was accepted as a geographical fact that such a river existed, and a stream of that nature was indicated on the maps of the period, bearing the various titles of "River of the West," "River Thegayo," "Rio de los Reyes," and "Rio de Aguilar."

The most definite account published of this great stream was given by Lepage Dupratz, a French traveller of note, who received it from a Yazoo Indian. It was to the effect that this Indian ascended the Missouri northwesterly to its head, and going still farther west came upon another large river flowing to the westward. He passed down the stream until he was compelled to halt because of a war existing between the natives living along its banks and a tribe farther west. He participated in the hostilities, during which his friends captured a squaw of the western tribe, and from her he learned that the river flowed many miles until it emptied into a great water where ships had been seen, on which were men with beards and white faces. The geographical statements are so accurate that there is no room to doubt the knowledge of the Yazoo savage of the existence of the Colum-

bia River; but his statement about ships and white men is historically impossible, since no vessel had ever visited the mouth of the Columbia, or even been so far north as that, unless it be admitted that Sir Francis Drake reached latitude 48°, and was near enough to the coast to have the faces and beards of his men recognized; but that was a century and a half before, and if his visit was known to the Indians at all it would probably have been in the form of a legend.

De L'Isle, geographer of the Academy of Science, Paris, wrote, March 15, 1716: "They tell me that among the Scioux of the Mississippi there are always Frenchmen trading; that the course of the Mississippi is from north to west, and from west to south [evidently the Mississippi is here confounded with the Missouri], from that it is known that towards the source there is in the highlands a river that leads to the western ocean." De L'Isle warmly urged the government to explore the far West in search of this river and the "Western Ocean" into which it flowed, and was seconded in his efforts by a learned priest named Bode. Temporary posts had been

established many years before in various parts of Minnesota.

The importunities of De L'Isle and Père Bode caused the government to begin an energetic policy of Western exploration and occupation in 1717, commencing with the re-establishment of the fort of Du Luth, and another farther west among the Sioux. Other posts followed in rapid succession.

In 1731 the Verendryes commenced a series of explorations which covered a period of about fifteen years. In their accounts of these journeys they speak of the Flathead Indians, living just west of the main chain of the Rockies and within the limits of Oregon, as that Territory was known at that time, but now in the western extremity of Montana, and this is as far west as the information gained by the Verendryes extends.

These French travellers encountered a band of Flatheads, who told them of their country west of the mountains, and of the great lake from which a river ran. This lake, they understood the Indians to say, was the source of a tributary of the Missouri, but the cause of their error is evident, as Sun River flows from the mountains in that direction. They were also told of the

great river running westward to the ocean, but were not able to cross the divide to explore it. The river to which the Indians referred was probably the stream first reached by Lewis and Clark when they crossed the main divide, and which they named "Clark's River." This stream is now known at various points along its course as "Deer Lodge," "Hellgate," "Bitter Root," "Missoula," "Clark's Fork," and "Pend d'Oreille," though a commendable fidelity to history and a proper regard for the honor of one of our greatest explorers demand that the use of every name but that of "Clark's River" be at once abandoned.

These early French explorations ended with the war between England and France, which was participated in by their respective colonies in America, and which is known on this side of the Atlantic as the "French and Indian War." As that struggle drew toward its close and France realized that her possessions in America were about to fall into the grasp of her immemorial enemy, she secretly conveyed to Spain her province of Louisiana; and when in 1763 the Treaty of Paris terminated the war and conveyed Canada to Great Britain, France was shorn of

all her possessions in America. All these frontier posts were abandoned, and the Rocky Mountains again became the undisputed home of the aborigine. Quite thirty years elapsed before explorations were resumed by subjects of the new rulers of Canada.

Meanwhile the American colonies had fought and gained the War of Independence, and, as a result, England was deprived of all her possessions south of the great chain of lakes. Spain's purchase of Louisiana, in conjunction with her California possessions, gave that nation proprietary claim to the whole country lying between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean and extending indefinitely northward. How extensive that region was, or what it contained, no one knew, and the Spanish owners were not inquisitive enough to find out. England was cut off from it except in the region lying north of Minnesota, — certainly not a very inviting field for exploration; and the young republic was too busy setting its government in good running order to engage in explorations of new territories. When westward journeys were again undertaken, it was solely by private enterprise in the interests of trade,

and the first notable efforts were the energetic attempts of strong Canadian trading companies to obtain control of the Indian traffic of the Northwest. Prominent among these trading companies were the Hudson's Bay Company, established in 1670, and the Northwest Company, established in 1787.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century traders covered the whole country east of the Rocky Mountains, almost to the Arctic. One of these was Alexander Mackenzie, a partner in the Northwest Company, who made a journey to the north in 1789, discovered the Mackenzie River, and followed it from its source in Great Slave Lake to where it discharges its icy waters into the Arctic Ocean. In 1791 he started with a small party upon a western trip, intent upon reaching the Pacific. Coming upon the Fraser River, he passed down this in canoes a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. Finally abandoning the river, he struck directly westward and reached the coast at the North Bentinck Arm, only a short time after it had been explored by Vancouver's fleet. When Mackenzie learned, upon his return, that the mouth of the Columbia had been discovered, he supposed that the large

river which he had followed so far southward must be that great stream; and so it was considered to be until twenty years later, when Simon Fraser, a representative of the same fur company, descended it to its mouth in the Gulf of Georgia, and ascertained its true character. This stream was then christened Fraser River.

The various sea and land expeditions that have been recounted, and others, had proved three very important facts: First, that there was no water passage for vessels across the continent; second, that by following the courses of streams and lakes the overland journey could be nearly accomplished in boats; third, that this vast unexplored region abounded in fur-bearing animals, which latter fact invited the attention of rival fur traders, both English and American. At this time the Spanish claim of Louisiana clouded the whole country west of the Mississippi, and though its limits were uncertain, it extended indefinitely into the unknown region lying north of Mexico and California.

Americans were especially hampered in their trading operations on the frontier. The Mississippi formed a definite and rec-

Wm. Clark

ognized western boundary to the territory of the United States, and the line of forts along the south side of the chain of Great Lakes was still held by Great Britain, notwithstanding they should have been surrendered under the Treaty of 1783. When that convention was formed, the representatives of England endeavored to have the Alleghanies fixed as the western limit of the new nation; but the American commissioners insisted that as British colonies the States had previously exercised jurisdiction as far west as the Mississippi, and the safety of the republic required that she still continue to do so; and they carried their point. By a special treaty made in 1794, England surrendered possession of the lake posts, and the two nations agreed that both should have unrestricted intercourse and trade in the great western region. From that time American traders extended their operations farther westward. The Hudson's Bay Company also began to invade the field occupied by its great rival, the Northwest Company of Montreal.

CHAPTER V.

Origin of the Name "Oregon." — Captain Carver.

THE word "Oregon," as a geographical expression, is older than any knowledge of the country. As to its origin there has been much historical inquiry, supplemented by conjecture; but after long attention to the subject and examination of all available sources of information, the only conclusion possible is that Oregon owes its name to Capt. Jonathan Carver.

Jonathan Carver was born in Connecticut in 1732, and served in the English colonial army throughout the French and Indian wars in the country of the Great Lakes. Leaving Boston in June, 1766, he journeyed westward, and was for several years an adventurous traveller in the region which the English, with colonial help, had wrested from the French. It is admitted by historians that Carver travelled as far as the head waters of the Mississippi, probably to the

Lake Park region in Minnesota, where rise streams flowing into the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Red River of the North. Carver's claim to extensive travelling west of the head waters of the Mississippi, covering a period of five months, is a very doubtful one, since his descriptions of the names, manners, and customs of the Indian tribes of that region are but translations into English of the works of the earlier French explorers of the same section.

Shortly after his return to Boston in 1768 Carver endeavored to enlist the assistance of the colonial authorities in the publication of a book of his travels, and to obtain reimbursement, in part at least, of his expenses. But he could get no attention.

A few years later, when unusual interest was felt in England in the discovery of the Northwest Passage, to find which the celebrated Captain Cook had been despatched on a voyage of exploration to the North Pacific Ocean, Carver was living in London, in much financial distress. Encouraged by the trend of public interest he again turned his attention to the preparation of a book of his travels, which was published in 1778, and was evidently compiled in a large

measure from the narratives of the French explorers before alluded to, translated literally, in great part, into English. In this book, in a passage referring to the Nadowessie (now Sioux) Indians and other tribes inhabiting the region of the head waters of the Mississippi and Red River of the North, appears the first use of the term "Oregon" which has anywhere been discovered. Carver writes:

"From these nations, together with my own observations, I have learned that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz.: the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon [Red River of the North], and the Oregon, or River of the West, have their sources in the same neighborhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other [this is practically correct, and this point, somewhere in Western Minnesota, is probably the limit of his westward journey]; the latter, however, is rather further west. This shows that these parts are the highest lands in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled on the other three-quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of two thousand miles from their

sources. For in their passage from this spot to the Bay of St. Lawrence, east; to the Bay of Mexico, south; to Hudson's Bay, north; and to the Bay at the Straits of Anian, west, each of these traverse upwards of two thousand miles."

This has led to the erroneous bestowal upon Captain Carver of all credit for making known to the world the existence of the Columbia River, when the fact is that it was known long before his doubtful journey; and his reference to it, so far from being written upon original information, was but the republication of facts made known by the French explorers, already mentioned, many years before.

In the above-quoted statement Carver does not claim to have visited the head waters of the river Oregon, or even to know their exact location. He expressly observes that he derived his information chiefly "from these nations," and it is possible that even from them it reached him through the medium of his French predecessors.

Carver's authority for calling the River of the West "Oregon" has been a matter of much discussion. While it is now quite generally believed that the word owes its

origin to Carver himself, or was thought by him to be the name of the stream from some unintelligible words spoken by the Indians in referring to the river, yet many theories are current, founded upon similarity of sound, but plausible only to those lacking information concerning the details of early explorations on the Pacific coast. The following is one of these theories, quite generally accepted, from the pen of Archbishop Blanchet, speaking of himself in the third person: —

"Jonathan Carver, an English captain in the wars by which Canada came into the possession of Great Britain, after the peace, left Boston, June 6, 1766, crossed the continent to the Pacific, and returned October, 1768. In relation to his travels, which were published in 1774, and republished in 1778, he is the first who makes use of the word 'Oregon.' The origin of that word has never been discovered in the country. The first Catholic missionaries, Father Demers, later Bishop of Vancouver Island, and Father Blanchet, later Bishop of Oregon City, arrived in Oregon in 1838. They travelled through it for many years, from south to north, from west to east, visiting and teaching the numerous tribes of Oregon, Washington Territory, and British possessions. But in

all their various excursions among the Indians they never succeeded in finding the origin of the word 'Oregon.' Now it appears that what could not be found in Oregon has been discovered by Archbishop Blanchet in Bolivia, when he visited that country, Chile, and Peru in 1855 and 1857. The word 'Oregon,' in his opinion, most undoubtedly has its root in the Spanish word *Oreja* (ear), and came from the qualifying word *Orejon* (big ear). For it is probable that the Spaniards, who first discovered and visited the country, when they saw the Indians with big ears, enlarged by the load of ornaments, were naturally inclined to call them *Orejon* (big ears). That nickname, first given to the Indians, became also the name of the country. This explains how Captain Carver got it and first made use of it. But the travellers, perhaps Carver himself, not knowing the Spanish language, nor the peculiar pronunciation of the *j* in Spanish, for facility's sake would have written it and pronounced it *Oregon,* instead of *Orejon,* in changing *j* to *g*. Such, in all probability, must be the origin of the word 'Oregon.' It comes from the Spanish word *Orejon.*"

It is to be regretted that this truly clever explanation is not substantiated by facts. In 1768, when Carver's journey was completed, Spanish explorers were not familiar

enough with the coast line to be aware of even the existence of the Columbia River, and certainly had never had any communication with the native inhabitants of the section. The only expeditions that had been made had not passed beyond latitude 43° or 44°, and had not so much as attempted to land. No allusion is made to the natives of this unknown land in the record of any Spanish explorer previous to the date of Captain Carver's journey, and the bishop's supposition that the Spaniards, at an earlier date, had "discovered and visited this country," but proves his unfamiliarity with the history of Spanish explorations on the Pacific coast. The assertion, in the same communication, that Carver "crossed the continent to the Pacific" is equally at variance with the facts. So far as ascertainable, the word "Oregon" was unknown to the Indians until after the country was visited by trappers, and the bishop himself states that in all their extensive travels among the native tribes of Oregon, Washington Territory, and the British possessions, he and his missionary associates found no authority for the use of the word.

Equally without substantiation is the idea

that "Oregon" was the Indian name of the Columbia River, for had it been, the early settlers in this region would have learned the name from the natives, instead of having to teach it to them.

The theory that early Spanish explorers bestowed the name because of the wild marjoram (Origanum) found along the Oregon coast is quickly dispelled in the light of the fact that the name "Oregon" had appeared in print before the Spaniards had set foot on the coast.

In an address delivered at an annual reunion of the Oregon Pioneer Association, the able and distinguished editor of the Portland "Oregonian," Hon. Harvey W. Scott, an acknowledged authority on matters historical, said: —

"The name 'Oregon' came very slowly into notice. It was long after the publication of Carver's book when it again made its appearance. The name seems not to have been known either to Capt. Vancouver or to Capt. Gray, since neither uses it in recording his search for the 'River of the West.' Capt. Gray, entering the river as a discoverer, called it, not the 'Oregon,' but the 'Columbia,' for his ship — a fact which shows that the name

'Oregon' was quite unknown at that time (1792). The name was not used by Lewis and Clark in the report of their travels. In John Jacob Astor's petition to Congress, presented in 1812, setting forth his claim for national assistance for his undertaking, on the ground that his efforts to establish trade on the North Pacific coast under the sovereignty of the United States would redound to the public security and advantage, the name 'Oregon' is not used to designate or describe the country; nor is it used in the Act of Congress passed in response to Mr. Astor's petition, by which the American Fur Company was permitted to introduce into the territory in question goods suitable for the Indian trade. At this time, indeed, the name appears to have been quite unknown, and perhaps would have perished but for the poet William Cullen Bryant, who evidently had happened in his reading upon the volume of Carver's travels. The word suited the sonorous movement and solemn majesty of his verse, and he embalmed it in 'Thanatopsis,' published in 1817. The Journal of Lewis and Clark had just been published, and the description therein of the dissolitudes and 'continuous woods' touched Bryant's poetic spirit and recalled the name he had seen in Carver's book. . . . Bryant's poem, widely read, was among the instruments by which the name was brought into general notice."

So far as the writer is able to ascertain, there is still an opening for a satisfactory explanation of the origin, beyond Captain Carver, of the name "Oregon" — in that State even a tenable theory will be warmly welcomed, and an untenable one not wholly neglected.

CHAPTER VI.

Spain renews Activity in the North Pacific Ocean.

THE traditionary policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to head off or render nugatory all attempts by the English government to explore its chartered domains in search of the Straits of Anian, or some other passage into the Pacific Ocean from the North Atlantic, was strictly adhered to during the eighteenth century. This organization did not want the government itself, or the people, to have any knowledge whatever of the regions lying contiguous to Hudson's Bay.

Meanwhile the rapidity with which Russia was extending her outposts in Alaska began to cause serious alarm in Spain, and she was aroused to a display of great activity, apparently combined with the purpose of discovering and taking possession of all the coast not already occupied by the Muscovites.

After her long absence from the west coast of America the first movement made by Spain was the colonizing of California. Under royal warrant the Jesuits commenced establishing missions in Lower California in 1697; and in 1767, when the Jesuit Fathers fell from royal favor, there existed in Lower California sixteen thriving missions and thirty-six villages. This rich inheritance was bestowed upon the Dominicans, while at the same time the Franciscans were granted full and exclusive authority to found missions in Alta California, and take possession in the name of the Spanish crown.

The first mission in Alta California was founded at San Diego July 16, 1769. Others followed at later dates, to the total number of twenty-two. The missions became so numerous and powerful that the Mexican government in 1825 began a series of hostile acts which in 1845 ended in the complete secularization of the missions just one year before the country was conquered by the United States.

Following the mission movement, Spain turned her attention to a series of explorations by sea, among them, in 1774, the voyage of Juan Perez, who reached lati-

tude 54° north, off the coast of Queen Charlotte's Islands. Returning, Perez followed the coast for one hundred miles, enjoying a highly profitable trade in furs with the natives. Following this another expedition was despatched, composed of two vessels, under Bruno Heceta. On August 15, 1775, Heceta discovered the entrance to the Columbia River. Attempts were made to enter the river, but were abandoned because of the strong current. Sailing southward again, Heceta for the first time observed the coast of Oregon with sufficient carefulness to enter upon his journal quite accurate descriptions. This was the first time the coast of Oregon was actually explored by the Spaniards, or any other nation, while the journey recounted in "Carver's Travels," in which first appeared the word "Oregon," was made some seven or eight years earlier. It is plainly evident that the name "Oregon" was not bestowed by the Spaniards. Upon his chart Heceta entered the river not as a river, since he had not proved it to be such, but as an inlet, calling it "Entrada de Asuncion." The other ship of the Heceta expedition, commanded by Bodega and Maurelle, continued northward, and

sighted land just above the fifty-sixth parallel of north latitude, in the vicinity of a huge snow-mantled peak, rising abruptly from a headland on the coast, which they christened Mount San Jacinto. This is the one named Mount Edgecumbe by Captain Cook, and stands on the chief island of King George III.'s Archipelago. Supposing it to be a portion of the mainland, the Spaniards landed to take possession in the name of their sovereign with religious formalities. They remained long enough to obtain some fresh water, and fought and traded with the natives, who appeared to have very distinct ideas of their own rights of property in the soil.

Thus ended the first effort of Spain to take possession of the coast north of California. The explorers then continued their northward journey as far as latitude 58°, and, returning, examined the coast more thoroughly. They landed again on August 27th, in a little harbor on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island, where they took possession without interference from the Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

England and the United States enter the Pacific Ocean. — Voyages of Captains Cook and Meares. — First Voyage of Captain Gray.

THE three voyages related in the foregoing chapter justly entitled Spain to a claim to the entire coast from Cape Mendocino to Mount San Jacinto by title of exploration. If that title was of any value, it belonged to Spain. But in these modern times possession is a far stronger title than simple discovery, and the United States found the claim acquired from Spain hard to defend against England's actual possession of the soil. In fact, had she depended upon it, Oregon would now be a province of Great Britain.

Accounts of these important voyages did not reach the public through the medium of the press; yet the fact that the Spaniards had made several important voyages in the Pacific and were evidently seeking to take

possession of the entire coast soon became known in England and created great uneasiness. England could not stand supinely by and see her ancient enemy secure a territory which she had coveted for years, ever since the marauding expedition of Sir Francis Drake two centuries before, but which as yet she had made no direct effort to reach from the Pacific side. The year 1776 saw England involved in war with her colonies on the Atlantic coast, yet she was none the less eager to plant new ones at the other extremity of the continent, and Parliament at once renewed the offer made in 1745, of a reward of £20,000 for the discovery of the Northwest Passage, though not limiting it to exploration in Hudson's Bay. The reward was offered to any vessel, sailing in any direction, through any straits connecting the Atlantic with the distant Pacific, north of latitude 52°.

This was inimical to the business interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and consequently was productive of no greater results than the former offer. The Admiralty had by this time become satisfied that it was useless to seek for the passage on the Atlantic side, since all their efforts were in some

manner rendered abortive; and they decided to despatch an expedition to the Pacific to search for the passage on that side, and to learn, if possible, the extent of Spanish and Russian occupation.

For this important task was selected the most renowned navigator of his time, Capt. James Cook, whose recent extensive explorations in the South Sea and Indian Ocean, extending into the Antarctic regions, had been so thoroughly and intelligently conducted that little was left for his successors to accomplish in the same field. It was vitally necessary that this means of entering the Pacific be discovered if England would plant colonies in this region, for communication with them by way of the Horn or Cape of Good Hope would be too tedious and uncertain.

Captain Cook's expedition was composed of two vessels, — the "Resolution," a craft which had just taken Cook around the world, and a consort named the "Discovery," commanded by Capt. Charles Clerke. In every particular the vessels were fitted for the work expected of them.

On the 12th of July, 1776, eight days after the bell of Independence Hall had rung

Dear Sir Annapolis Dec. 4. 1783.

I received here about a week ago your obliging letter of Oct. 12. 1783. with the shells & seeds for which I return you many thanks. you are also so kind as to keep alive the hope of getting for me as many of the different species of bones, teeth & tusks of the Mammoth as can now be found. this will be most acceptable. Pittsburg & Philadelphia or Winchester will be the surest channel of conveyance if I find they have subscribed a very large sum of money in England for exploring the country from the Missisipi to California they pretend it is only to promote knowlege. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonising into that quarter. some of us have been talking here in a feeble way of making the attempt to search that country but I doubt whether we have enough of that kind of spirit to raise the money. how would you like to lead such a party? tho I am afraid our prospect is not worth asking the question. ~~the definitive treaty of peace~~ is at length arrived it is not altered from the preliminaries the cession of the territory West of Ohio to the United states has been at length accepted by Congress.

with some small alterations of the conditions we are in daily expectation of receiving it with the final approbation of Virginia. Congress have been lately agitated by questions where they should fix their residence they first resolved on Trenton the Southern states however contrived to get a vote that they would give half their time to Georgetown at the Falls of Potomac. still we consider the matter as undecided between the Delaware & Potomac we urge the latter as the only point of union which can cement us to our Western friends when they shall be formed into separate states I shall always be happy to hear from you and am with very particular esteem Dr Sir

Your friend & humble sent

Th: Jefferson

FACSIMILE OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S LETTER OUTLINING PLAN TO EXPLORE THE WEST

out to the world the glad tidings that a free people had pledged "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" in the cause of liberty, Cook sailed from Plymouth on his mission. He rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and spent nearly a year in exploring the coast of Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and the Friendly and Society groups of islands. It was not until the 18th of January, 1778, that he encountered the Hawaiian group of islands, making thus one of the most important discoveries in the Pacific. Upon these he bestowed the name of Sandwich Islands, out of courtesy to the First Lord of the Admiralty. After a brief stay at this mid-ocean refuge, he resumed his course eastward, and on the 7th of March espied the coast of New Albion, near the forty-fourth parallel. This was the coast of Oregon in the vicinity of the Umpqua River. After being forced by head winds as far south as Rogue River, he sailed a northerly course well out to sea, and did not again see land until he reached latitude 48°. To the prominent headland he then saw he gave the name "Cape Flattery," because of the encouraging condition of affairs.

Sailing northward from Cape Flattery, Cook cast anchor in Nootka Sound, where he found the natives very intelligent. They possessed copper, iron, and brass, and were familiar with the methods of working them. They were extremely friendly, and bartered valuable furs for trinkets of any kind, although preferring metal to anything else. From here again sailing northward, Cook reached an immense snow-peak standing near the water's edge, which he at once recognized as the Mount St. Elias discovered by Behring.

Returning, Cook sailed for England by the way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope. The object of going to Canton was to dispose of a large collection of furs made by both men and officers, chiefly by trading for them with the natives of Nootka Sound. They had not been purchased for market, nor had they been selected according to their commercial value, and many had been rendered unsalable by being used for clothing and beds. However, for this miscellaneous collection of furs the Chinese paid $10,000.

It was early in October, 1780, when the "Resolution" and "Discovery" reached England, after an absence of four years and

three months, during which time the country had been engaged in war with her American colonies and her two enemies across the Channel. Cook and his expedition had almost been forgotten in the excitement of current events, and until the complications of war were removed, England had neither time nor inclination to attempt further discoveries or plant new colonies, and so the Lords of the Admiralty pigeon-holed the official record of the voyage, to be published after the establishment of peace.

In the winter of 1784–85 Cook's journal was published, and though the "yarns" of his sailors had been freely circulated, the authorized account of Cook's explorations was a revelation to the people and caused a display of great eagerness to take advantage of the golden opportunities therein pointed out.

The extent and value of the west coast of America being now well understood, Russia, France, and England despatched numerous expeditions to exploit the region, and more particularly to secure the fur trade of Nootka Sound. Noteworthy among these was the voyage of Captain Barclay, an Englishman, in 1787, he having entered upon his chart

the location of the generally discredited Straits of Fuca; also the voyage of Capt. John Meares, a former lieutenant of the Royal Navy, who sailed in the fur trade on his own responsibility under Portuguese patronage, reaching Nootka Sound, the general rendezvous of the fur trade, in the "Felice Adventurer," accompanied by the "Iphigenia Nubiana," early in the spring of 1788. Meares secured from Maquinna, an Indian chief, permission to erect a small house to shelter his men while at work, and leaving a portion of his crew there engaged in constructing a small schooner, he sailed down the coast.

Sailing southward, on June 29, 1788, Meares observed a broad inlet in latitude 48° 39′, — the Straits of Fuca. Continuing southward, he found what he named "Deception Bay," and which was undoubtedly the mouth of the Columbia River; but not discovering that it was a river, he passed on, sailed as far south as Tillamook Head, and then returned to Nootka, where he met his companion ship, the "Iphigenia," which had arrived from the north with a large cargo of furs. When Captain Meares's men had completed the little schooner, she was

launched and christened the "Northwest 'American." She was the first vessel constructed on the Pacific coast north of Mexico.

About this time there appeared at Nootka two American vessels, the "Columbia Rediviva," commanded by Capt. John Kendrick, and the "Lady Washington," by Capt. Robert Gray, these two ships having sailed from Boston on September 30, 1787.

The new-born republic of the United States, as soon as a treaty of peace was signed, began at once to resume those maritime commercial ventures which the war with England had suspended. American vessels visited the ports of every country, and the whale fishing around Cape Horn, which had been abruptly terminated, was resumed.

In 1784 an American vessel entered the harbor of Canton, and in 1787 five vessels were engaged in the China trade. Untrammelled by the commercial restrictions which Parliament imposed upon British subjects, Americans could engage in the fur trade with every prospect of success. It was for this purpose the "Columbia Rediviva" and "Lady Washington" (two names now so

intimately associated with Oregon) had started from Boston with a load of Indian goods, and had come to anchor in Nootka Sound. Their voyage thither had not been unattended with adventure. In January, soon after passing Cape Horn, a severe storm separated the two consorts. The "Lady Washington" continued the voyage, and reached the Oregon coast in August, where, near the forty-sixth parallel, Captain Gray ran his vessel aground in attempting to enter an opening in the land which he had explored in a boat and believed to be the entrance to the great River of the West. While in this position the ship was attacked by Indians, and in repelling them and getting the craft into deep water again, one man was killed and the mate wounded. This place Gray called "Murderer's Harbor," and it is considered by Greenhow to have been the mouth of the Columbia, and by Bancroft as Tillamook Bay. Captain Gray then proceeded to Nootka, where lay the three vessels belonging to Meares, his appearance being a great surprise to the Englishmen.

Soon after the arrival of the two American vessels, Captain Meares sailed with all

his furs for China. The "Columbia" and "Lady Washington" remained at anchor in Nootka Sound until spring, and later returned to Boston, arriving there on August 10, 1790.

CHAPTER VIII.

Spain's Supremacy in the North Pacific is overthrown. — The Nootka Convention.

THE sight of English and American vessels venturing into the Pacific — and those spoken of in previous chapters were by no means the only ones, since the South Pacific was traversed by several exploring expeditions whose work had no particular bearing upon the history of Oregon — admonished Spain that if she would maintain her supremacy she must be up and doing. From the position taken by her in the sixteenth century, Spain had never in the least degree receded. She still claimed complete dominion of the west coast of America and the sole right to trade with all regions approachable by the way of Cape Horn.

Determined to maintain this right, Spain at this time began active operations in colonizing, and also sent out expeditions to gather information as to the extent and

character of the Russian settlements in the extreme north.

This was a period of excitement and activity for Nootka and vicinity. What Spain considered Russian encroachment upon her dominion, and English and American infringement upon her commercial rights, brought about a strained and hostile state of affairs at Nootka, which was fortified and occupied in the name of the King of Spain. In these complications the Americans, while not entirely disinterested, were inactive.

The troubles were carried to the home governments, and after a period of diplomatic activity, varied by preparations for war, these differences between England and Spain were terminated by the "Nootka Convention" on the 28th day of October, 1790.

By this treaty it was stipulated that all buildings and tracts of land on the northwest coast of America of which Spanish officers had dispossessed any British subjects should be restored; that just reparation should be made by both parties to the agreement for any acts of violence committed by the subjects of either of them upon the subjects of the other; that any property

seized should be restored or compensated for; that subjects of Great Britain should not approach within ten leagues of any part of the coast already occupied by Spain; that north of that point both parties should have equal rights, as well as south of the limits of Spanish settlements in South America. The treaty met with violent opposition both in Spain and England, each considering that valuable rights had been surrendered without any compensation; but it was finally ratified and went into effect, and commissioners were despatched to Nootka to execute its provisions. The Spaniards meanwhile remained in possession of the disputed port, and affairs at Nootka were unchanged.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN GRAY. — VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN VANCOUVER. — DISCOVERY AND NAMING OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER. — FINAL ADJUSTMENT OF NOOTKA DIFFERENCES AND ABANDONMENT OF THAT PORT.

THE year 1792 was an important one in the history of the northwest coast. More discoveries were made, and more important explorations carried on, than in any year before or since, and a flood of light was thrown upon the dark geography of the coast. At least twenty-eight vessels visited this region, the majority of them to engage in the fur trade, representing France, Spain, Portugal, England, and the United States.

Passing by the majority of these without further mention, let us turn our attention to those which made valuable discoveries, pertinent herein. They were the "Columbia," under Captain Gray, two vessels under Captain Vancouver, and a small Spanish fleet.

As has been said, Captain Gray reached Boston, returning from his first voyage to the Pacific, on August 10, 1790, having sailed, by the "Columbia's" log, fifty thousand miles. This voyage of the "Columbia" gave the vessel, her officers, and owners great prominence. Though the profits of the voyage were small, it was an achievement to be proud of, and had prepared the way for more profitable trade in subsequent years. A second voyage was therefore immediately projected, and the "Columbia" again left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, with Captain Gray in command, and arrived at Clayoquot harbor, on Vancouver Island, just north of the Straits of Fuca, on June 4, 1791. The instructions to Captain Gray contemplated a season's trade with the natives on the coast, then a visit to China for the sale of the furs he might obtain.

The commissioner appointed on the part of England to carry into effect certain provisions of the Nootka Treaty referring to the restoration of property at that port was Capt. George Vancouver, of the Royal Navy. The Admiralty took occasion to make his voyage one of extended discov-

Dear Sir

Washington. US. of America. July 4. 1803.

In the journey which you are about to undertake for the discovery of the course and source of the Missisipi, and of the most convenient water communication from thence to the Pacific ocean, your party being small, it is to be expected that you will encounter considerable dangers from the Indian inhabitants. should you escape those dangers and reach the Pacific ocean, you may find it imprudent to hazard a return the same way, and be forced to seek a passage round by sea, in such vessels as you may find on the Western coast. but you will be without money, without clothes & other necessaries; as a sufficient supply cannot be carried with you from hence. your resource in that case can only be in the credit of the US for which purpose I hereby authorise you to draw on the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of War & of the Navy of the US. according as you may find your draughts will be most negociable, for the purpose of obtaining money,

nation with which we have intercourse or amity, to furnish you with those supplies which your necessities may call for, assuring them of honorable and prompt retribution. and our own Consuls in foreign parts where you may happen to be, are hereby instructed & required to be aiding & assisting to you in whatsoever may be necessary for procuring your return back to the United States. And to give more entire satisfaction & confidence to those who may be disposed to aid you, I Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America, have written this letter of general credit for you with my own hand, and signed it with my name.

Th. Jefferson

To

Capt. Meriwether Lewis.

FACSIMILE OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S LETTER OF CREDIT TO LEWIS AND CLARK

ery, directing his attention especially to the clearing up of geographical conundrums on the coast, particularly that of a river or any other interoceanic passage.

Vancouver commanded the sloop of war "Discovery," and accompanied by the armed tender "Chatham," under Lieut. W. R. Broughton, arrived off the coast of California in April, 1792, in the vicinity of Cape Mendocino.

Here he began a most careful examination of the coast, strict watch being kept for signs of harbors and navigable rivers. On the 27th of April he recorded in his journal:

"Noon brought us up with a conspicuous point of land composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent, nor did it seem to be accessible to vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues further south. On reference to Mr. Meares' description of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it was Cape Shoalwater, but on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be what he calls

Cape Disappointment; and the opening to the south of it Deception Bay. This cape was found to be in latitude 46° 19′, and longitude 236° 6′. [He reckoned east from Greenwich.] The sea now changed from its natural to river-colored water; the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean to the north of it, through the low land. Not considering this opening worthy of more attention, I continued our pursuit to the N. W., being desirous to embrace the advantages of the prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favourable to our examination of the coast."

Vancouver rounded Cape Disappointment, and continued up the shore. He passed Gray's Harbor in the night, and after noting the position of Destruction Island and observing Mount Olympus, "the most remarkable mountain we had seen on the coast of New Albion," fell in with the "Columbia" a few miles south of the Straits of Fuca.

Vancouver sent an officer to the American vessel to glean information from its commander, who did not hesitate to tell him all he knew of the coast, including a denial of the report that he had sailed around Vancouver Island in the "Lady Washington," and told also of "his having been off the mouth of a river in latitude 46° 10′, where

the outset, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably," continues Vancouver, "the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and was, apparently, inaccessible, not from the current, but from the breakers that extended across it." That Gray must have made this effort to enter the Columbia some time the previous year is evident from the fact that Vancouver states that he "was now commencing his summer's trade along the coast to the southward." The above remarks show plainly that Vancouver had no faith in the existence of such a stream as Rio de San Roque, Oregon, or River of the West, and this is rendered more certain by an entry in his journal made upon reaching Cape Flattery, that there —

"was not the least appearance of a safe or secure harbour, either in that latitude, or from it southward to Cape Mendocino; notwithstanding that, in that space, geographers had thought it expedient to furnish many. . . . So minutely had this extensive coast been inspected, that the surf had been constantly seen to break upon its shores from the mast-head; and it was but in a few small intervals only, where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. Whenever the weather pre-

vented our making free with the shore, or on our hauling off for the night, the return of fine weather and of daylight uniformly brought us, if not to the identical spot we had departed from, at least within a few miles of it, and never beyond the northern limits of the coast which we had previously seen. An examination so directed, and circumstances happily concurring to permit its being so executed, afforded the most complete opportunity of determining its various turnings and windings. . . . It must be considered as a very singular circumstance that, in so great an extent of sea coast, we should not until now [he had entered the Straits of Fuca] have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter; the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea. The river Mr. Gray mentioned should, from the latitude he assigned it, have existence in the bay, south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and inaccessible to vessels of our burthen, owing to the reefs and broken water which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which at length he had been unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult

to account for [Gray accounted for it easily enough by the theory that the outset was the discharging of an unusually large river, a conclusion Vancouver would not admit because he had been there and had not seen it], as, in most cases where there are outsets of such strength on a sea coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbour, or place of security for shipping on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the Promontory of Classett [Cape Flattery]; nor had we any reason to alter our opinions."

The coast has since been found much less barren of harbors than this distinguished navigator supposed, though with the single exception of the Columbia, there are none affording entrance to large vessels without first undergoing improvement.

Leaving Captain Vancouver in the Straits of Fuca, let us follow the movements of the American vessel.

The "Columbia" had wintered at Fort Defiance, in the harbor of Clayoquot, her crew being busily employed in constructing a small sloop, which was launched in Feb-

ruary and christened the "Adventure." This was the second vessel constructed on the Pacific coast north of the Spanish possessions, Meares's "Northwest America" being the first. Haswell, the first mate, was placed in command and sent northward on a trading voyage along the coast on the 2d of April, while Gray sailed south in the "Columbia." Nothing is known of his movements until the 2d of May, except what Vancouver records as having been learned from him as stated above, and this was on the 29th of April, 1792, when they met just below the entrance to Fuca Straits. From Vancouver's record it appears that Gray, either that spring or the year before, had been off Deception Bay, which he believed to be the entrance to a large river, and which for nine days he had in vain endeavored to enter. The vessels parted. Vancouver, scouting the idea that a river could possibly exist at that point, since he had been there and had not observed it, sailed into the Straits of Fuca in search of an interoceanic passage; Gray, convinced of the correctness of his own observations, sailed southward to discover and enter the greatest river on the Pacific coast, and the

second in size on the continent of North America.

On the 7th of May Gray entered a port in latitude 46° 58′, which he named "Bulfinch Harbor," in honor of one of the owners of his vessel. He sailed out again on the 10th, having, while there, repulsed an attack by the natives, killing some of the assailants, and on the 11th safely crossed the bar which had before baffled him. Sailing ten miles up the stream he cast anchor in the mighty Columbia, for so Gray named the river in honor of his vessel. He also bestowed the name "Cape Hancock" upon the high promontory on the north, which had before been known as "Cabo de San Roque" and "Point Disappointment"; and upon the low point on the south, formerly called "Cape Frondoso," he bestowed the name "Point Adams." Three days later he ascended the stream fifteen miles farther, and having gotten into shoal water by reason of missing the channel, dropped down again and anchored nearer the mouth.

The inhabitants of the Chinook village on the north bank of the Columbia were very friendly, and from them Gray obtained a large quantity of furs. It was not until the

20th that the bar was smooth enough to permit the "Columbia" to cross out, but on that day she sailed northward, and later, at two points on the upper coast, had bloody conflicts with Indians who attacked her. Here was met the "Adventure," which had been twice around Queen Charlotte's Island and had enjoyed only a moderate trade with the Indians.

Both ships then made another trading voyage to the north, during which the "Columbia" struck upon a rock in the inland passage just above latitude 52° and was considerably damaged. She succeeded in reaching Nootka, where with the assistance of the Spaniards she was soon made tight and seaworthy again. She again sailed north, met the "Adventure" at Port Montgomery, on Queen Charlotte's Island, and both vessels returned to Nootka, where Gray found Captain Vancouver and gave him a memorandum of his discovery of the Columbia River. Gray then sailed for home by way of the Sandwich Islands and China.

After speaking the "Columbia," Vancouver's vessels entered the Straits of Fuca on the 30th of April, and proceeded slowly inland, Vancouver making a careful examina-

tion as he progressed. The vessels anchored at Port Discovery, and from that place as a rendezvous, Captain Vancouver and Lieutenants Menzies, Puget, and Johnstone explored the channels and bays to the southward for about four weeks.

Vancouver bestowed the following well-known names in that region: "Puget Sound," in honor of Lieutenant Puget; "Hood's Canal," for Lord Hood; "Admiralty Inlet"; "Mount Rainier," after Rear Admiral Rainier of the English Navy; "Vashon Island," after Captain Vashon; "Port Orchard," the name of the officer who discovered it; "Possession Sound," where he landed on the 4th of June and took possession in the name of King George of England; "Port Townsend," in compliment to the "noble Marquis of that name"; "Whidby Island," after one of his lieutenants; "Mount Baker," discovered by Lieutenant Baker; "Bellingham Bay"; "Deception Passage"; "New Dungeness," because of a fancied resemblance to Dungeness in the British Channel.

Vancouver continued his explorations as far north as latitude 52° 18′, when he turned about and sailed for Nootka Sound, reach-

ing that port on the 28th of August. Here he found the store ship "Dædalus," which had been sent out from England with supplies and fresh instructions for his guidance in arranging affairs at Nootka.

Vancouver remained at Nootka for more than a month, engaged in the fulfilment of his diplomatic mission. When he had concluded his negotiations, armed with a rough chart of the Columbia's mouth which Gray had left at Nootka, Vancouver sailed southward with his fleet, now increased to three vessels. On the 18th of October the "Dædalus," commanded by Lieutenant Whidby, entered Bulfinch's, or Gray's, Harbor, to make a thorough examination, while her two consorts continued to the mouth of the Columbia. On the morning of the 19th the "Chatham" and "Discovery" attempted the passage of the bar, the former crossing safely, but the latter hauling off for fear there was not a sufficient depth of water. This circumstance led Vancouver to record in his journal that his "former opinion of this port being inaccessible to vessels of our burthen was now fully confirmed, with this exception, that in very fine weather, with moderate winds, and a smooth sea, vessels

not exceeding four hundred tons might, so far as we were able to judge, gain admittance." It was while lying at anchor off the bar that he gained a view of a "high, round snow mountain" far up the stream, which he named "Mount St. Helens," in honor of his Britannic Majesty's ambassador at the Court of Madrid.

The first sound that saluted the commander of the "Chatham" upon crossing the bar was the report of a cannon, which was answered in a similar manner by Lieutenant Broughton. It came from a brig called the "Jenny," lying in a sheltered bay within the mouth of the stream, which has ever since been known as "Baker's Bay," in honor of the captain of that little craft which had sailed from Rhode Island. This made the second American vessel to enter the river before these official representatives of Great Britain undertook to explore it. The "Chatham" lay in the river several days, during which time Broughton ascended the stream in a boat some one hundred and twenty miles, as far as a point which he named in honor of the commander of the expedition, being the same upon which Fort Vancouver was afterward built by the

Hudson's Bay Company. The high snow-crowned peak rising above the Cascades to the east he called "Mount Hood." During his stay he formally "took possession of the river and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic Majesty's name, having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or state had ever entered this river before." The closing portion of this sentence sounds strange when it is remembered that Captain Vancouver had in his possession the rough chart, made by Captain Gray, of the mouth of the Columbia, and that this chart was probably the cause of the "Chatham" and the "Discovery" being there at that time. It is explained by saying that Broughton affected to consider the broad estuary near the mouth of the stream as no portion of the river, and that in consequence Gray, though he had ascended the stream twenty-five miles, had not entered the river proper. This strained construction England maintained in the after controversy with the United States about the rights of discovery.

Vancouver wintered at the Hawaiian Islands, returning to Nootka in May, 1793, and finding that no news had been received

from Europe, sailed north to continue his examination of the coast from the point he had reached the year before. Later, upon receipt of intelligence from his government to the effect that an amicable settlement had been arrived at and that England had appointed a new commissioner, he at once set sail for England, where he arrived in October, 1795.

Vancouver's narrative of his four years' voyage and explorations, the most complete and important ever issued up to that time, was published in 1798, previous to which the great explorer died.

The "amicable settlement" spoken of was the one signed at Madrid by the representatives of Spain and England on the 11th of January, 1794. The tide of European politics had so turned that it was then the best policy of both England and Spain to form an alliance; hence the mutual concessions in this agreement. The treaty provided that commissioners of both nations should meet at Nootka, and that formal possession of the small tract of land claimed by Meares, by right of purchase from the Indian chief Maquinna, be given to the representative of England by the Spanish commissioner.

It continued in the following explicit language: —

"Then the British officer shall unfurl the British flag over the land thus restored as a sign of possession, and after these formalities the officers of the two crowns shall retire respectively their people from the said port of Nootka. And their said majesties have furthermore agreed that the subjects of both nations shall be free to frequent the said port as may be convenient, and to erect there temporary buildings for their accommodation during their residence on such occasions. But neither of the two parties shall make in said port any permanent establishment, or claim there any right of sovereignty or territorial dominion to the exclusion of the other. And their said majesties will aid each other to maintain their subjects in free access to the said port of Nootka against whatever other nation may attempt to establish there any sovereignty or dominion."

This solemn farce was actually enacted at Nootka on the 23d of March, 1795, by General Alava on the part of Spain, and Lieut. Thomas Pierce as representative of Great Britain. Everything portable was then embarked on the Spanish vessels, which sailed away and left Nootka again in the sole possession of the natives.

From that day to this no white settlement has been attempted at that historical spot. English historians, and many others writing, like them, from incomplete data, have asserted that the port of Nootka was surrendered to England by the Spaniards; but such the above quotation from the treaty shows not to have been the case. Only the small patch of ground claimed by Meares to have been purchased from Maquinna was formally transferred; and England was as firmly bound as Spain not to make any future settlement at that point, while both were at liberty to occupy any other points they might see fit. Their interests in Europe, however, were so closely linked for the next few years that neither felt it necessary to attempt any settlements on the upper Pacific coast as a safeguard against the other. No other nation attempted to plant a colony here, and thus the matter stood for nearly a score of years, when the question of ownership was raised by a new claimant, — the United States. Traders continued to carry on the fur business as before, but their operations were of little historical importance.

PART TWO.

EXPLORATION.

CHAPTER X.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the territorial claims of the various nations on the Pacific coast were exceedingly conflicting. Russia's claim to Alaska was recognized as valid, having been established both by discovery and occupation; though as yet no definite southern limit was fixed. Spain's claim to California was also undisputed, extending to the forty-second parallel. Between these two, both England and Spain claimed title by right of discovery only, since by the Nootka Convention both had agreed to base no claim whatever upon the actual or asserted occupation of their representatives or subjects at Nootka Sound. The United States also, by reason of Gray's discovery of the Columbia, had laid a foundation for a claim to the whole region drained by that mighty river, as yet unasserted, but which was pressed with much vigor and final partial success a few years later.

Besides these discovery rights, the Louisiana Province, which France had transferred to Spain in 1762, was construed by its possessor or, more accurately speaking, its technical claimant to cover the whole region west of the Mississippi not claimed by the same nation as portions of Mexico and California. This title was reconveyed to France in the year 1800, thus putting that nation again into the field as a claimant of territory in the western portion of North America.

In 1780, soon after the return of Captain Cook's expedition to England, and when Thomas Jefferson was the representative of the United States at the Court of Versailles, he became deeply interested in this great Western region. In an autograph letter to George Rogers Clark, dated at Annapolis, December 4, 1783, Jefferson for the first time gave expression to his desire to explore the West, and to his natural preference that his own country should take possession of that vast, unknown territory. Opposite page 62 is a fac-simile reproduction of this letter, the original belonging now to the Draper manuscript collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

There is no evidence that Jefferson's prop-

osition received any encouragement from George Rogers Clark, whose younger brother William Clark, twenty years later, shared with Meriwether Lewis the dangers, toils, and honors of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Following Thomas Jefferson's awakened interest in the West more than a decade elapsed before the States had perfected their government and regulated those national affairs requiring immediate and careful consideration, and during that time it was idle to think of further accessions of territory. However, in 1792, Jefferson proposed to the American Philosophical Society that a subscription be raised for the purpose of engaging some competent person to explore the country lying between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, "by ascending the Missouri, crossing the Stony Mountains, and descending the nearest river to the Pacific."

Jefferson's suggestion was acted upon, and the position having been eagerly solicited by Lieut. Meriwether Lewis, a Virginian, that gentleman was selected at the recommendation of Mr. Jefferson. Lieutenant Lewis's travelling companion was Mr.

André Michaux, a distinguished French botanist, then living in the United States in the employ of his government. When they had proceeded as far as Kentucky, Mr. Michaux was recalled by the French minister, and the expedition was abandoned.

Soon after France again acquired title to Louisiana, Napoleon recognized the fact that that province would only be a source of annoyance and expense to the nation. His ambitious designs in Europe arrayed England and other powerful nations in hostility to France, and to avoid the necessity of having to provide for the protection of vast territorial possessions as well as to place in the field an active and now powerful rival to England, he opened secret negotiations for the transfer of the whole Province to the United States.

Mr. Jefferson was then President, and eagerly grasped the opportunity to realize his long-cherished desire, and by so doing render his administration one to be forever remembered by his countrymen. Even before the treaty was concluded, he began to put his plan of operations into effect; and on the 18th of January, 1803, he submitted to Congress a special message on the Indian

Photo by L. C. Henrichsen, Portland

question, in which he incorporated a suggestion that an official expedition be despatched upon the same journey as the private one would have accomplished ten years before, had it not been abandoned. Congress approved the idea, and made an appropriation to carry it into effect. Mr. Lewis, who for two years had been acting in the capacity of private secretary to the President, once more solicited the direction of the enterprise. In this he was again successful, and he himself made the estimate upon which the congressional appropriation for the expense of the expedition was based. So truly unique and surprising is this that a literal quotation is warranted:

RECAPITULATION OF AN ESTIMATE OF THE SUM NECESSARY TO CARRY INTO EFFECT THE MISSISSIPPI EXPEDICION.

Mathematical Instruments	$217
Arms and accoutrements extraordinary .	81
Camp Ecquipage	255
Medicine and packing	55
Means of transportation	430
Indian presents	696
Provisions extraordinary	224
Materials for making up the various articles into portable packs	55

For the pay of hunters, guides and interpreters	$300
In silver coin, to defray the expences of the party from Nashville to the last white settlement on the Missisourie .	100
Contingencies	87
Total	$2500

This very modest sum of money was evidently at that time considered adequate to defray the expenses of a company of forty-five men journeying nearly nine thousand miles through a country actually unknown.

For almost twenty years prior to this time, and long before the general public were more than passively curious upon the subject of Louisiana, Mr. Jefferson had entertained the desirability of exploring the Louisiana Territory, and his appointment of Meriwether Lewis to command the expedition which had so long been one of his cherished hopes was indisputable evidence of the perfect confidence he reposed in Captain Lewis.

Concerning the antecedents and life of Captain Lewis few sources of information are available. The following is gleaned from a sketch written by Mr. Jefferson sev-

eral years after Lewis's death, dated at Monticello, August 18, 1813: —

"Meriwether Lewis, late governor of Louisiana, was born on the 18th of August, 1774, near the town of Charlottesville, in the county of Albemarle, in Virginia, of one of the distinguished families of that State. John Lewis, one of his father's uncles, was a member of the King's council before the Revolution. Another of them, Fielding Lewis, married a sister of General Washington. His father, William Lewis, was the youngest of five sons of Colonel Robert Lewis of Albemarle, the fourth of whom, Charles, was one of the early patriots who stepped forward in the commencement of the Revolution, and commanded one of the regiments first raised in Virginia, and placed on continental establishment. . . .

"At thirteen he [Meriwether] was put in the Latin school, and continued at that until eighteen, when he was returned to his mother, and entered on the cares of his farm, having, as well as a younger brother, been left by his father with a competency for all the correct and comfortable purposes of temperate life. His talent for observation, which led him to an accurate knowledge of the plants and animals of his own country, would have distinguished him as a farmer; but at the age of twenty, yielding to the ardor of youth and a

passion for more dazzling pursuits, he engaged as a volunteer in the body of militia which was called out by General Washington, on occasion of the discontents produced by the excise taxes in the western parts of the United States [the Whiskey Rebellion]; and from that station he was removed to the regular service as a lieutenant of the line. At twenty-three he was promoted to a captaincy; and, always attracting the first attention where punctuality and fidelity were requisite, he was appointed paymaster to his regiment."

Concerning his fitness for public duties, Mr. Jefferson wrote: —

"I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles; habituated to the hunting life; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves — with all these

qualifications, as if selected and implanted by Nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him. To fill up the measure desired, he wanted nothing but a greater familiarity with the technical language of the natural sciences, and readiness in the astronomical observations necessary for the geography of his route. To acquire these, he repaired immediately to Philadelphia, and placed himself under the tutorage of the distinguished professors of that place, who, with a zeal and emulation enkindled by an ardent devotion to science, communicated to him freely the information requisite for the purposes of the journey. While attending at Lancaster to the fabrication of the arms with which he chose that his men should be provided, he had the benefit of daily communication with Mr. Andrew Ellicott, whose experience in astronomical observation, and practice of it in the woods, enabled him to apprise Captain Lewis of the wants and difficulties he would encounter, and of the substitutes and resources afforded by a woodland and uninhabited country."

Captain Lewis selected as his associate William Clark, who also received a captain's commission. Of his early life only the scantest knowledge is obtainable. "Lewis and

Clark," of the Riverside Biographical Series, by William R. Lighton, gives the following short sketch: —

"William Clark was the ninth of a family of ten children. His father was John Clark, second, who, like his father before him, was a Virginian, living in King and Queen County. The pioneering spirit was strong in the family, — the *Wanderlust*, that keeps man's nature fluid and adaptable. This led John, second, to remove first to Albemarle County, and later to Caroline County, where William was born on August 1, 1770, not far from the birthplace of Meriwether Lewis.

"When the boy was about fourteen years of age the family moved once more, into the dim West, settling at the place now known as Louisville, in Kentucky. . . . At this place, amidst the crudest conditions of the Kentucky border, the lad grew to maturity. That was not an orderly life; it was rather a continuing state of suspense, demanding of those who shared in it constant hardihood and fortitude. For the right-minded man, however, it had incalculable value. Many of the strongest examples of our national character have been men who owed the best that was in them to the apparently unkindly circumstances of their youth. What was denied to Clark in easy opportunity had ample compensation in the

firmness and self-reliance which came from mastering difficulties. . . .

"Like Lewis, Clark chose a military career. When he was but eighteen years of age, he was appointed ensign in the regular army; and two years later he was made captain of militia in the town of Clarksville, '*in the Territory of the United States North West of the Ohio River.*' In 1791 he was commissioned as a lieutenant of infantry, under Wayne, and served afterward as adjutant and quartermaster."

This is about all we can learn now of the early days of the two noble, intrepid men who one hundred years ago faced unknown dangers, incredible toil and hardship, in leading across the then trackless American continent a geographic, scientific, and military expedition which has done more than any other historical event in our national existence, of an individual nature, toward the development of American occupation and settlement, American commerce and American civilization.

In the instructions drawn up for the guidance of the Lewis and Clark party, the President says: "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, and such principal streams of it, as, by its course

and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado, or any other river, may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." They were directed to acquire as intimate a knowledge as possible of the extent and number of Indian tribes, their manners, customs, and degree of civilization, and to report fully upon the topography, the character of the soil, the natural products, the animal life and minerals, as well as to ascertain, by scientific observations and inquiry, as much as possible about the climate, and to inquire especially into the fur trade and the needs of commerce. Nothing was to be neglected knowledge of which might contribute to the success or security of later enterprise.

"In all your intercourse with the natives," wrote Mr. Jefferson, "treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit; allay all jealousies as to the object of your journey; satisfy them of its innocence; make them acquainted with the position, extent, character, peaceable and commercial dispositions of the United States; of our wish to be

neighborly, friendly, and useful to them, and of our dispositions to a commercial intercourse with them; confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums, and the articles of most desirable interchange for them and us. If a few of their influential chiefs, within practicable distance, wish to visit us, arrange such a visit with them, and furnish them with authority to call on our officers, on their entering the United States, to have them conveyed to this place at the public expense. If any of them should wish to have some of their people brought up with us, and taught such arts as may be useful to them, we will receive, instruct, and take care of them."

The instructions from the President to Captain Lewis also included the privilege of using his own discretion as to continuing the enterprise in the face of Indian hostility, and the further privilege, if he reached the Pacific Ocean, of returning by sea, if he so desired, and opportunity offered.

Since Louisiana had not yet been formally conveyed to the United States, the instructions contained a paragraph saying: "Your mission has been communicated to the ministers here from France, Spain, and Great

Britain, and through them to their governments; and such assurances given them as to its objects, as we trust will satisfy them. The country of Louisiana having been ceded by Spain to France, the passport you have from the minister of France, the representative of the present sovereign of the country, will be a protection with all its subjects; and that from the minister of England will entitle you to the friendly aid of any traders of that allegiance with whom you may happen to meet."

The French passport was rendered needless by the receipt of the joyful intelligence a few days before they started, that Louisiana had been formally ceded to the United States.

Concluding, the instructions read: "As you will be without money, clothes, or provisions, you must endeavor to use the credit of the United States to obtain them; for which purpose open letters of credit shall be furnished you, authorizing you to draw on the executive of the United States, or any of its officers, in any part of the world in which drafts can be disposed of, and to apply with our recommendations to the consuls, agents, merchants, or citizens of any

nation with which we have intercourse, assuring them in our name that any aids they may furnish you shall be honorably repaid, and on demand."

A facsimile of this quaintly interesting letter of credit, over the signature of Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, is reproduced at page 78. The uselessness of it, in the light of after events, when the exploring party sorely needed succor, lends to it additional, almost pathetic interest.

In pursuance of his commission and instructions, Captain Lewis left Washington on the 5th of July, 1803, and was joined by Captain Clark at Louisville. Having selected the men to compose their party, they went into camp near St. Louis, and remained until spring. The final start was made on the 14th of May, 1804, in a number of boats, the largest being a keel vessel fifty-five feet in length, carrying a large square sail, and manned by twenty-two oars. The smaller craft were open boats, called "perogues," manned by six and seven oars. The party consisted of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, Capt. William Clark, nine young men from Kentucky, fourteen soldiers, two French-Canadian water-men of the class called

"voyageurs" among the fur traders, an interpreter and hunter, and a negro servant of Captain Clark. There were also a number of assistants who accompanied the party as far as the Mandan country.

Journeying up the Missouri River, forty-three days were consumed in crossing what is now the State of Missouri. Continuing the ascent of the river, by the last of October the travellers came to the camps of the Mandan and Minnetaree Indians, sixteen hundred miles from St. Louis, in the present State of North Dakota, and there, warned by the calendar and by cold, took up winter quarters. They remained all winter with the Mandan Indians, from whom they learned much of the geography of the surrounding country, as also of its native inhabitants. While there they negotiated a treaty of peace and friendship between the Mandans and Ricarees, between whom hostilities had existed for many years.

On the afternoon of April 12, 1805, winter quarters were abandoned. Three recruits were here added to the party: a Frenchman named Charboneau, his squaw, Sacajawea, and their infant son, but two months of age. Sacajawea, the "Bird Woman," was a

Snake River Indian, who had years before been taken captive by the Mandan Indians in a war with the Snake Indians of the Rocky Mountains. She was but a child at the time of her capture, and was taken to the Mandan villages, and there sold to Charboneau, who kept her until she reached womanhood, and then married her. As a faithful and intelligent guide and interpreter, Sacajawea proved of invaluable assistance to the exploring party. She was destined to take a prominent part in the later work of the expedition, and lent to it one of its few elements of true romance.

Continuing westward, the travellers still followed up the Missouri, regarding the course of which, its tributaries and great falls, they had received very minute and accurate information from their Mandan friends. Passing the mouth of the Yellowstone River, which name they record as being but a translation of "Roche Jaune," the title given it by the French-Canadian trappers who had already visited it, they continued up the Missouri, passed the castellated rocks and the great falls and cascades in Montana, ascended through the mighty canyon and reached the head waters of the

stream. After crossing the Rocky Mountain divide, they came upon the stream variously known along its course as "Deer Lodge" and "Pend d'Oreille." Upon this they bestowed the name of "Clark's River," and so it should be called from its source in the Rocky Mountains to where it unites with the Columbia River in British Columbia.

Since leaving Fort Mandan, some four months before, they had seen no Indians. From the Rocky Mountain Indians they hoped to obtain information as to the best route across the mountains, and also horses to aid them in making the passage, and they were therefore very anxious to see these natives. They were now somewhat encouraged by Sacajawea, the "Bird Woman," who said that they were nearing the site of her old home. She was desirous, as were they, for a meeting with her people, from whom she had been separated for so long, and she told them this meeting must soon occur. The trustworthiness of her information was soon thereafter proven, when a band of Shoshone Indians was encountered.

Sacajawea at once recognized the members of her tribe. A woman of the band ran forward to meet her, and they embraced

with signs of extravagant joy, — they had been playmates in childhood. The pathos of this reunion is best told in the words of the journal of Lewis and Clark, relating the incidents of a conference between the Shoshone chief and the two leaders of the expedition: —

"Glad of an opportunity of being able to converse more intelligibly, they sent for Sacajawea, who came into the tent, sat down, and was beginning to interpret, when in the person of Cameawait [the Chief] she recognized her brother. She instantly jumped up and ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket, weeping profusely. The Chief was himself moved, though not in the same degree. After some conversation between them, she resumed her seat and attempted to interpret for us; but her new situation seemed to overpower her, and she was frequently interrupted by tears."

The Shoshones were hospitable and kindly folk. From them it was learned that the water route from this point westward was impracticable, as the waters flowed in ungovernable torrents through wild canyons which the hardiest adventurers from this tribe had never succeeded in passing. Although the description of the land route was scarcely

more reassuring, acting upon this information the advance party under Clark crossed the Bitter Root Mountains by the Lolo trail, into what is now Idaho, suffering intensely from cold and hunger, and on the 20th of September reached a village of Nez Percé Indians, situated on a plain about fifteen miles from the south fork of the Clearwater River, where they were received with great hospitality.

This first passage of the mountains by representatives of the United States, and their warm reception by the Indians, contrast strongly with a scene witnessed by this same Lolo trail seventy-two years later, when Howard's army hotly pursued Chief Joseph and his little band of hostile Nez Percés, who were fleeing before the avengers from the scene of their many bloody massacres.

The almost famished men partook of such quantities of the food liberally provided by their savage hosts that many of them became ill, among them being Captain Clark, who was unable to continue the journey until the second day. He then went to the village of Twisted-hair, the chief, situated on an island in the stream mentioned. To the river he gave the name "Koos-koos-kee,"

"Where Rolls the Oregon"

erroneously supposing this to be its Indian title. The probabilities are that the Nez Percés, in trying to inform Captain Clark that this river flowed into a still larger one, the one variously known as "Lewis," "Sahaptin," or "Snake," used the words "Koots-koots-kee," meaning "This is the smaller," and were understood to mean that this was the name of the stream. The Nez Percé name is "Kaih-kaih-koosh," signifying "Clearwater," the title it is generally known by.

Having been united, the two parties a few days later journeyed on down the Clearwater. Concerning their deplorable condition and their method of travelling, the journal says: —

"Captain Lewis and two of the men were taken very ill last evening, and to-day he could scarcely sit on his horse, while others were obliged to be put on horseback, and some, from extreme weakness and pain, were forced to lie down alongside of the road. . . . The weather was very hot and oppressive to the party, most of whom are now complaining of sickness. . . . Our situation, indeed, rendered it necessary to husband our remaining strength, and it was determined to proceed down the river in canoes. Captain Clark, therefore, set

out with Twisted-hair, and two young men, in quest of timber for canoes. . . . Having resolved to go down to some spot calculated for building canoes, we set out early this morning and proceeded five miles, and encamped on the low ground on the south, opposite the forks of the river."

The canoes being constructed, they embarked, in the month of October, on their journey down the Clearwater and connecting streams, for the Pacific, leaving what remained of their horses in charge of the friendly Nez Percés. They had for some time been subsisting upon roots, fish, horse-meat, and an occasional deer, crow, or wolf, but having left their horses behind them, their resort, when out of other food, now became the wolfish dogs they purchased from the Indians.

Upon reaching Snake River, named by them "Lewis River" in honor of Captain Lewis, the canoes were turned down that stream, which was followed to the Columbia, the explorers naming the Tukannon River "Kim-so-emim," a title derived from the Indians. Upon the Palouse River they bestowed the name "Drewyer," in honor of the hunter of the party. They then followed

down the Columbia, passing a number of rapids, and arrived at the Cascades on the 21st of October. A portage was made of all their effects and a number of the canoes, the remainder making the perilous descent of the Cascades in safety. The mouth of the Willamette was passed without the addition of so large a stream being noticed.

Having traversed the present States of Washington and Oregon, Cape Disappointment was reached on November 15th, and the eyes of the weary travellers were gladdened with a sight of the great ocean which had been the goal of their efforts through seventeen months of toilsome journeying. The season of winter rains having set in, they were soon driven by high water from the low land on the north bank of the Columbia, eleven miles above the cape, which they had selected for their winter residence.

The Columbia here is twelve miles wide, but it was decided to cross it, and although their canoes were not intended for use in rough water, the dangerous passage was safely made.

Arrived on the south bank of the Columbia River, dreary weeks were spent in an effort to get acquainted with this section, in

the dismal winter rains, without shelter. The hunters returned to camp day after day, unable to find game, and their food supply was very low. It was here that the President's letter of credit might have served the sorely tried men in good stead; but not a white face was seen by them during the winter, for the trading vessels that made yearly visits to this part of the coast had gone away for the winter before the arrival of the expedition.

It was not until the middle of December that they found high ground suitable for winter quarters, near what is now called Young's Bay, in Clatsop County, Oregon, and by January 1st a rude fortification was completed here and named "Fort Clatsop," in honor of the Indians of that region, — a tribe whose members, according to Captain Clark, "sometimes washed their hands and faces." From Fort Clatsop during the winter the explorers made occasional short excursions along the coast.

The departure for home was delayed in the hope that some trading vessel might appear, from which sadly needed supplies could be obtained, but being disappointed in this, and seriously alarmed by the scanti-

ness of their food supply, they loaded their canoes, and on March 23, 1806, took final leave of Fort Clatsop.

Before going they presented the chiefs of the Chinook and Clatsop Indians with certificates of kind and hospitable treatment, and circulated among the natives several papers, posting a copy on the wall of the abandoned fort, which read as follows: —

"The object of this last is, that through the medium of some civilized person, who may see the same, it may be made known to the world that the party, consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, and who were sent out by the Government of the United States to explore the interior of the continent of North America, did penetrate the same by the way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the fourteenth day of November, 1805, and departed the twenty-third day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States by the same route by which they had come out."

To this was appended a list of the members of the expedition. One of these copies was handed by an Indian the following year to Captain Hill, an American fur trader, whose vessel, the "Lydia," had entered the

Columbia River. By Captain Hill the letter was taken to China, and thence to the United States; thus, even had the party perished on the return journey, evidence of the completion of their task was not wanting.

Contemplating the long return journey, the greatest cause for uneasiness lay in the depleted condition of the stock of merchandise intended for traffic with the Indians. Upon taking an inventory of their possessions before starting upon the return, they found that their goods available for this purpose consisted of six blue robes, one scarlet robe, one United States artillery hat and coat, five robes made from the national ensign, and a few old clothes trimmed with ribbon. Upon these must they depend for purchasing provisions and horses and for winning the hearts of stubborn chiefs.

Though the ascent of the Columbia was less fraught with danger than the descent, it was much more arduous. Proceeding up the south bank of the stream, they came unexpectedly upon a large river flowing into it from the south. On an island near its mouth, known to the early trappers as "Wapatoo," and now called "Sauvie's Island," they came upon an Indian village,

where they were refused a supply of food. To impress the Indians with his power, Captain Clark entered one of their habitations, and cast a few sulphur matches into the fire. The savages were frightened at the blue flame, and looked upon the strange visitor as a great medicine man. They implored him to extinguish the "evil fire," and brought all the food he desired.

The name of this Indian village was "Multnomah," but Captain Clark understood the name to apply to the river, concerning the course of which he made careful inquiry.

Upon the map of this expedition the "Multnomah" is indicated as extending southward and eastward into California and Nevada, and the Indians who resided along the streams that flow from southeastern Oregon into the Snake River are represented as living on the upper branches of the Multnomah. The true Indian name of the river and valley is "Wallamet," which has been corrupted to "Willamette" by those who conceived the idea that it was of French origin. So far as is known, no white man had ever seen the Willamette River previous to its discovery by Lewis and Clark.

At the mouth of the Lapage River, the stream later named "John Day," the canoes were abandoned, and the party proceeded up the Columbia on foot, packing their baggage upon the backs of a few horses purchased from the natives.

Crossing the Umatilla River, which they called the "You-ma-lo-lam," they arrived at the mouth of the Walla Walla on the 27th of April. Yellept, the chief of the Walla Walla Indians, was a man of unusual capacity and power, and extended to them the most cordial and bountiful hospitality they had enjoyed since leaving the abodes of civilization. These people freely gave to the travellers from their own scant supply of firewood and food, and the chief presented Captain Clark with a superb white horse, which kindness Clark reciprocated by the gift of his artillerist's sword.

Bidding adieu to the hospitable Walla Wallas, the exploring party left the Columbia on the 29th of April, and followed eastward what is known as the "Nez Percé Trail." They went up the "Touchet," called by them "White Stallion," because of Yellept's present to Captain Clark ; and up the Patet and Pataha Rivers, and down the Alpowa to

Snake River, which they crossed, and followed up the north side of Clearwater until they reached the village of Twisted-hair, where had been left their horses the fall before. The Lolo trail was not yet free from snow, and for six weeks they resided among the Nez Percés, a tribe celebrated for their generosity, and who proved most hospitable and helpful, seemingly unable to do enough to show their good will.

On the 15th of June the travellers made an attempt to cross the Bitter Root Mountains, but were unsuccessful, as the trails were blocked with snow. Two weeks later, however, they safely crossed.

In pursuance of a plan which Captain Clark had conceived and sketched while at Fort Clatsop, it was here decided to pursue two routes for a distance, with a view to shortening the journey from the mountains to the falls of the Missouri River. Accordingly, on July 4th, Captain Lewis, with a portion of the party, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri, and followed down the main stream, exploring the larger tributaries and learning much of the geography of Montana. With the remainder of the party Clark crossed the Yellow-

stone, and, guided by Sacajawea, the "Bird Woman," descended that stream to its mouth, uniting again with Captain Lewis some distance below that point on the 12th of August. The plan had proved to be perfectly practicable, cutting off five hundred and eighty miles from the most difficult part of the way, and was a remarkable instance of Clark's marvellous sagacity and natural geographic aptitude.

When again united the party continued its journey down the Missouri River, and reached St. Louis September 25th, 1806, having been absent nearly two and one-half years.

The return of Lewis and Clark was the cause of great rejoicing in the United States. Mr. Jefferson says : "Never did a similar event excite more joy throughout the United States. The humblest of its citizens had taken a lively interest in the issue of this journey, and looked forward with impatience to the information it would furnish. Their anxieties, too, for the safety of the corps had been kept in a state of excitement by lugubrious rumors, circulated from time to time on uncertain authorities, and uncontradicted by letters, or other direct informa-

tion, from the time they had left the Mandan towns, on their ascent up the river in April of the preceding year, 1805, until their actual return to St. Louis."

Captain Lewis was, soon after his return, appointed Governor of Louisiana, with which his journey had rendered him more familiar than any other man except his associate ; and Captain Clark was appointed General of Militia of the same Territory, and Agent for Indian Affairs in that vast region he had explored. Before he had fully completed his narrative of the journey, Captain Lewis died, on October 11, 1809, at the age of thirty-five years. Some uncertainty attaches to the cause and manner of his death, but the weight of opinion appears to sustain Mr. Jefferson's statement, that he committed suicide while affected by hypochondria, to which he had been subject from early life.

The history of the expedition was prepared from Lewis's manuscript under the direction of Captain Clark, and was first published in 1814. The general details, however, were spread throughout the country immediately upon their return, especially on the frontier.

After long and honorable service in public life, Captain Clark died in St. Louis, on September 1, 1838, at the age of sixty-eight years.

This, in brief outline, is the story of an eventful undertaking which was not primarily one of adventure, but was an exploration in the broadest sense of the word. It was not the mere fact of getting across the continent and back that gave the work its character, but the observations that were made by the way. Whoever reads the journals of Lewis and Clark, from whatever point of view, is amazed by what they reveal. The timely work accomplished by these able, courageous men one hundred years ago laid the basis for the movement of one of the great dramas of history, wherein their names hold honorable place.

In his message to the Fifty-eighth Congress, President Roosevelt, after making reference to the Louisiana Purchase, said: —

"The expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent followed thereupon, and marked the beginning of the process of exploration and colonization which thrust our National boundary to the Pacific. The acquisition of the Oregon Country, including the present

States of Oregon and Washington, was a fact of immense importance in our history, first giving us our place on the Pacific seaboard, and making ready the way for our ascendancy in the commerce of the greatest of the oceans."

PART THREE.

SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER XI.

First Trading Posts in the Pacific Northwest. — First Settlement on the Columbia River.

WHILE the Lewis and Clark Expedition was in Oregon, other exploring parties were traversing Louisiana in various directions, likewise in search of information for the government.

Lieutenant Pike ascended the Mississippi River to its head waters in 1805, and the following year journeyed southwestward from the mouth of the Missouri to the sources of the Arkansas, the Red, and the Rio Bravo del Norte. At the same time Dunbar, Hunter, and Sibley explored Red River and its companion streams.

These explorations served to greatly stimulate the fur trade carried on from St. Louis and Mackinaw, as well as to strengthen the government in its purpose of adhering to its right to Louisiana.

When Great Britain received the official notification mentioned by President Jefferson in his letter of instructions to Captain Lewis, which was quickly followed by the intelligence that the region to which it referred had been ceded by France to the United States, much anxiety was felt by the English government and by such of its subjects as were personally interested in the country under consideration. Especially were the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company anxious for the future of their interests in that region, — more particularly the former, whose hunters were operating farther south and west than those of the rival company.

The French claim to Louisiana, founded solely upon technical grounds, had not been a source of much uneasiness; but now that this territory had been transferred to a nation both able and anxious to make an effort to perfect the title by reducing the country to actual possession, the matter presented an entirely different aspect. Naturally, the technical title was not recognized in its entirety; that is, there was a vast region lying north of the forty-second parallel and west of the Rocky Mountains, known

CAPE DISAPPOINTMENT, NOW POPULARLY CALLED "FORT CANBY"

a few years later as "Oregon," and embracing the watershed of the Columbia River, which might be held by the United States under the Louisiana title and the discovery right of Captain Gray, provided these claims were perfected by actual occupation. Similar occupation might entitle Great Britain to its possession as a perfection of her technical title, claimed by discovery through Sir Francis Drake, and explorations by Captain Cook, Captain Vancouver, and Alexander Mackenzie. Both nations having color of title, possession became the decisive issue.

The Northwest Company immediately sent a party to establish trading posts on the Columbia River, under command of a trusted agent named Laroque. He started in 1804, but failed to progress farther than the Mandan country, and the Columbia stations were not established.

Simon Fraser, another agent of the company, left Fort Chippewa in 1805, and followed the route pursued formerly by Mackenzie until he reached Fraser River. At Fraser Lake, a few miles west of the point where the river turns to the southward, he established a trading-post, bestowing the name "New Caledonia" upon that region.

As the Fraser River was then considered identical with the Columbia, it was supposed that this post was on the great stream for the possession of which England and America were contending. Though this idea subsequently proved to be erroneous, the fact remained that the post was the first established by the subjects of either nation west of the Rocky Mountains.

The Americans were not far behind, for the Missouri Fur Company was organized in 1808, with headquarters at St. Louis. The same year trading posts were established on the affluents of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, and one of the agents of the company, named Henry, crossed the Rocky Mountains and founded Fort Henry, on the head waters of Lewis, or Snake, River, the first American establishment, and, as it proved, the first of any kind on a tributary of the Columbia River.

The next settlement was made nearer the mouth of the stream, in 1810, by an American whose name has been variously given by superficial historians as "Smith," "T. Winship," and "Nathaniel Winship," none of which is correct.

Early in 1809 a partnership was formed

in Boston between Abiel Winship, Jonathan Winship, Nathan Winship, Benjamin P. Homer, and a few others, for the purpose of founding a settlement on the Columbia as a base of trading operations, the settlement to be a permanent one. With everything necessary to the success of the project, Nathan Winship sailed in the "Albatross" in July, 1809, William Smith being his chief mate.

It was on the 26th of May, 1810, that the "Albatross" entered the Columbia River, and began sounding it to locate the channel, gradually ascending the stream. On the 1st of June Winship and Smith selected a point on the south bank of the stream some forty miles above its mouth, which they called Oak Point, because they observed there four oak trees, the first they had seen since entering the river. The place now known as Oak Point is on the opposite side of the river, — a fact which has led some writers into the error of stating that this first American settlement on the Columbia River was made in Washington Territory.

They at once began preparations in accordance with their plans, such as hewing logs for a fort and clearing a patch of the

fertile tract for a garden; but they were soon initiated into the mysteries of the "June rise," for the annual freshets of that season covered their building site and garden patch to the depth of several feet long before they had the fort erected. A patch of higher ground five hundred yards farther down the stream was selected, and the logs floated down to it, but as the natives had begun to give evidence of hostile intentions, Winship decided to abandon the effort.

On the 17th of June he dropped down to the mouth of the river, learning on the way that only his vigilance had prevented the capture of his vessel by the Chinook Indians. He then sailed on a trading voyage, expecting to return the next year and found a settlement, but in this he was forestalled by the Astor party.

CHAPTER XII.

The Astoria Settlement. — Astoria Surrendered to the English.

DURING the first ten years of the nineteenth century Americans took the lead in the fishing and fur trade of the Pacific Ocean, though vessels of other nations were not an infrequent sight in Pacific coast waters. This usurpation of the fur trade by Americans was naturally distasteful to rival nations, and especially to the English, whose independent traders were excluded from the Pacific by the monopoly grants of the East India Company and South Sea Company; and although for the most part the American traders were representatives of wealthy and long-established houses, they were classed by the English as "adventurers," their skill as navigators was slightingly spoken of, and their judgment as traders decried. In the light of later events the conclusion is irresistible that had the traders of rival nations

shown the same good judgment and systematic management of their enterprises as did the Americans, they would have met with a greater measure of success.

The vessels of the American traders were generally large ones, despatched by wealthy merchants, and in addition to the goods collectively described as "trinkets," carried valuable cargoes of English and American manufactured goods, with which they supplied the Russian and Spanish settlements on the coast. The Russians in particular were dependent upon the American traders for ammunition, sugar, spirits, and manufactured articles generally. The "trinkets" were used in the Indian trade, as has ever been the custom with civilized nations in their dealings with inferior races. Commercially of little value, these trinkets were highly prized by the natives, who would give for them more furs than they would offer for some object worth ten times as much, but which did not strike aboriginal fancy, or accord with Lo's perception of utility. Such articles have always been considered a "valuable consideration" by every nation in dealing with uncivilized races, and the English aspersions on the methods of

the American trader were not generally deserved.

However, certain of these traders were guilty of improper and impolitic conduct, and this was no doubt the chief cause of bringing them into disrepute. They used whiskey and firearms as articles of merchandise, reaping present profit, but ensuring a future harvest of strife, degeneracy, and decay among the natives.

The Russians were extremely harsh and illiberal in their dealings with the aborigines, incurring their hostility instead of winning their good will, and they very naturally objected to the placing of the native tribes on an equality with themselves in the matter of weapons of war. Complaint was made by the Russian government to the State Department; but as the American traders were violating no law or treaty, the government could not interfere directly. It did, however, use its influence to effect a remedy.

John Jacob Astor was then the central figure of the American fur trade, being engaged extensively in that business in the region of the Great Lakes and head waters of the Mississippi, and was the leading merchant of New York City. His attention

was called to the troublous conditions among the fur traders in the Pacific, and he soon devised an effectual remedy.

His plan was to establish a permanent post at the mouth of the Columbia River, which would be the headquarters for a large trade with the interior and along the coast, and to supply this post and the Russian settlements by means of a vessel sent annually from New York, which would also convey the furs to China, and take home from there a cargo of silk, tea, etc. The independent traders would thus be superseded by a company which would establish posts along the Columbia, a thing earnestly desired by the government, and the cause of irritation to Russia would be removed.

The scheme was heartily endorsed by the President and Cabinet. As has been shown, President Jefferson had been for years a warm advocate of American supremacy along the Columbia River, and in a letter written to Mr. Astor in later years said of his opinion at that time: "I considered, as a great public acquisition, the commencement of a settlement in that part of the western coast of America, and looked forward with gratification to the time when

its descendants had spread themselves through the whole length of the coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and interest, and enjoying like us the rights of self-government." How vastly grander is the realization than even this broad-spirited, truly patriotic vision of one of America's greatest statesmen!

Mr. Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company, himself supplying the capital and owning a half interest. To manage operations in the field, he selected competent men of much experience in the fur trade, and to bind them to his interests he gave them the other half share in the enterprise, divided in equal proportions. Wisdom and prudence marked every step taken, with the exception of the selection of partners. Among these were several men who had formerly belonged to, or were employed by, the Northwest Company. They were of alien birth and sympathies. When they united with Mr. Astor it was simply as a commercial venture, by which they hoped to better themselves financially. His purpose of founding an American settlement on the Columbia, so that the United States might

dominate this region, was not in harmony with their national sentiments. They were British in thought and sympathy, even as partners in an American enterprise, and could not be relied upon to support the interests of the United States when they came in conflict, in the disputed territory, with those of Great Britain, as represented by the great company in which they had received their training and to which they were attached by the strongest ties which time and association can weave.

In an enterprise so purely American and of such deep political significance Washington's injunction to "put none but Americans on guard," should have been wisely heeded; and the failure so to do was most disastrous in its consequences.

These men were Alexander McKay, Duncan McDougal, David and Robert Stuart, and Donald McKenzie. So far from undertaking to Americanize themselves, these gentlemen took the precaution before leaving Canada to provide themselves with proofs of their British citizenship, to be used for their protection in case of future difficulties between the two nations. Had this been known to Mr. Astor, it would

doubtless have put a sudden termination to their connection with the enterprise. Only one American, Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, was an interested partner from the first, and to him was intrusted the management of the enterprise on the Pacific coast.

The first movement was made on the 2d of August, 1810, when the ship "Tonquin" sailed from New York for the mouth of the Columbia River, commanded by Capt. Jonathan Thorn, a lieutenant of the United States Navy on leave of absence. The "Tonquin" mounted ten guns, had a crew of twenty men, and carried a large cargo of supplies for the company, and merchandise for trading with the natives, as well as implements and seeds for cultivating the soil, and the frame of a small schooner for use in trading along the coast. She carried as passengers McKay, McDougal, the two Stuarts, twelve clerks, several artisans, and thirteen Canadian voyageurs.

In January following the second detachment of the Astor expedition set out from St. Louis, on its way across the continent, under the direction of Wilson Price Hunt of New Jersey, who had been appointed general agent by the partners.

When the "Tonquin" arrived off the Columbia bar, on the 22d of the following March, the weather was stormy and the breakers rolled high. Fearing to take his vessel across an unknown bar in such a rough sea, Captain Thorn sent out a whale boat with a crew of four to explore the channel. The surging billows soon engulfed the boat and its brave crew, and they were seen no more. The next day another boat was sent on the same errand, and was swept out to sea by the tide and current, and only one of its occupants finally reached land in safety. Just as darkness closed down upon the scene on the second day the "Tonquin" succeeded in crossing, and anchored just within the bar, where the wind and ebbing tide threatened to sweep her from her precarious hold upon the sands and swamp her amid the rolling breakers. Of that anxious and distressful night Irving has written: "The wind whistled, the sea roared, the gloom was only broken by the ghastly glare of the foaming breakers, the minds of the seamen were full of dreary apprehensions, and some of them fancied they heard the cries of their lost comrades mingling with the uproar of the elements." In the morn-

ing the "Tonquin" passed safely in and came to anchor in a good harbor.

On the 12th of April the partners began the erection of a fort on the south side of the river, on a point which Lieutenant Broughton had named "Point George." This was christened "Astoria" in honor of the founder and chief promoter of the enterprise, — a name now borne by a thriving commercial city, which marks the spot where America first planted her foot squarely upon the disputed territory of Oregon.

After much delay and continued wrangling between the partners over their respective authority, a storehouse was built and the supplies landed; and on the 5th of June, before the fort was completed, Captain Thorn sailed northward to engage in trade with the Indians and to open that friendly communication with the Russian settlements which formed such an important feature of Mr. Astor's plan. With him went Alexander McKay.

The tragic destruction of the "Tonquin" and her crew on the west coast of Vancouver Island is graphically told by Irving. Only a very brief account of the unfortunate affair is here attempted.

Sailing northward from Astoria, Captain Thorn brought the "Tonquin" to anchor off the west coast of Vancouver Island. Unable to deal with the natives, who became insolent, the captain ordered them to leave the ship, and, much annoyed by their aggressive stubbornness, added blows to enforce his command. The ship was cleared, but the following morning the Indians returned in large numbers. They appeared unarmed and friendly, and were allowed to come aboard, swarming over the ship, and offering to trade with the captain on his own terms.

The main articles sought by the savages in barter were knives, and soon all were unsuspectingly supplied. Meanwhile preparations had been making to sail, and when the captain gave orders to clear the ship, a signal yell from an Indian was quickly followed by a general and brutal onslaught upon the unprepared victims, who fought desperately for their lives. Captain Thorn and many others were killed, but the Indians were finally driven ashore.

At dawn the following day the Indians again made their appearance. The ship seemed deserted but for one wounded sur-

vivor, who invited the savages aboard. Again they swarmed aboard in great numbers, and while excitedly exulting over the situation, a terrific explosion ended the career of the ill-starred "Tonquin."

More than a hundred savages were destroyed, and of the ship's party but one survived to tell the dreadful tale, — the Indian interpreter, who effected his escape and carried the terrible tidings to Astoria. Hopeless of escape, the wounded survivors on the "Tonquin" had determined upon a desperate and terrible revenge. After decoying the savages on board, the ship was deliberately blown up by setting fire to the powder magazine.

While this sad tragedy was being enacted, affairs progressed rapidly at Astoria. The fort was completed, and everything was placed in readiness for an opening of the expected large trade with the natives of the Columbia River.

On the 15th of July a canoe manned by nine white men was observed descending the river, and when they reached the fort they were found to be a party of employees of the powerful Northwest Company, headed by David Thompson, a partner in that great

organization. He had been despatched from Montreal the year before, for the purpose of taking possession of the mouth of the Columbia before the Astor party should arrive. Thompson had experienced much hardship, disappointment, and delay, had been deserted by nearly all his party, and now, with but a few faithful ones, he arrived too late to accomplish his mission. The Americans were in possession.

The Northwest Company held a warm place in McDougal's heart, and as that gentleman was in charge at Astoria, Thompson received a cordial welcome, and was bountifully supplied with provisions and necessaries for his return journey, notwithstanding the fact that he was but a spy upon his hosts. When he set out upon his return eight days later, he was intrusted with a letter to Mr. Astor, giving the president of the company information of the safe arrival of the "Tonquin," the founding of Astoria, and the absence of the vessel upon a trading voyage to the north, for the destruction of the ship and tragic death of the crew were as yet unknown at the fort. With Thompson went David Stuart, at the head of a party of nine men, with instruc-

Photo. copyright by George M. Weister, Portland

Columbia River at its Mouth

tions to establish a post on the upper Columbia. This he accomplished by founding Fort Okinagan, near the mouth of the Okinagan River.

While these steps were being taken by the party which reached Astoria by sea, the part of the Astor expedition which attempted the overland journey was suffering terrible hardships. The land party was under the command of Wilson Price Hunt, and was composed of McKenzie and three new partners, Ramsey Crooks, Joseph Miller, and Robert McLellan, also John Day, a noted Kentucky hunter, Pierre Dorion, a French half-breed interpreter, and enough trappers, voyageurs, etc. to make a total of sixty people. They reached Fort Henry, on Snake River, October 8, 1811. Continuing, their journey was an unbroken succession of disasters, but the survivors reached Astoria in February, 1812. Through mishap and misadventure of various kinds they had lost three or four members of their party.

On the 9th of May the ship "Beaver," with reinforcements and supplies, anchored at Astoria, and the Pacific Fur Company was in condition to enter upon a vigorous

fur-gathering campaign. Mr. Hunt, who was at the head of affairs, set out in July for Alaska to fulfil the mission on which the ill-fated "Tonquin" had sailed, and his departure left Duncan McDougal in charge. Prior to this, however, various expeditions had started up the Columbia to trade with the natives between the Rocky and the Cascade Mountains.

Upon reassembling at headquarters at Astoria, June 12, 1813, the returning expeditions found that, upon the whole, the year's labor had been successful. The peltry brought in, amounting to one hundred and fifty-seven packs, if sold at market rates in Canton, would pay well for the time spent and reimburse them for local losses. In addition to this they had become well established in the fur-producing regions, and the outlook was very encouraging; not so, however, the state of affairs they found at Astoria.

They learned from McDougal that on January 16th preceding Donald McKenzie had arrived at Astoria from his post on Snake River, bringing the intelligence that he had been visited just previously by John George McTavish, a partner in the North-

west Company, commanding one of their posts near McKenzie's; and that McTavish had brought him the information that war had been declared between England and the United States. McTavish had asserted that as a representative of the English company he was prepared to meet the opposition of the American corporation, and further, that he had been directed to meet the armed ship "Isaac Todd" at the mouth of the Columbia River about the beginning of March, her mission being to get possession of the trade of the river. This information had served to further discourage McDougal, already filled with misgivings, seemingly, as to the success of the whole enterprise, and when the hunting expeditions returned to Astoria, as stated above, McTavish was found there, with nineteen men, awaiting the appearance of the "Isaac Todd," sent by the Northwest Company.

The circumstances of this visit of McTavish furnish strong moral evidence of the treason of McDougal, for despite the fact that conditions warranted nothing of the kind, there was the warmest fellowship between the two men; and when McTavish applied to McDougal for a supply of goods

with which to trade his way back, having given up the arrival of the "Isaac Todd," goods and provisions were furnished him to enable him to return to the upper country. Before McTavish departed, on the proposition of McDougal the fort of the Pacific Fur Company on the Spokane was sold to McTavish, as the representative of the Northwest Company, for $848. For this step McDougal and his partners claimed justification by the non-arrival of supplies by sea, combined with the unfavorable news of British success in arms, which had caused them to consider the advisability of abandoning the country and returning overland the ensuing year; and with this prospect in view, they visited the interior themselves to gather what furs they could before taking final leave of the country.

While these events were occurring on the Pacific, others of equal moment to Astoria were transpiring on the Atlantic. On the 6th of March, 1813, Mr. Astor despatched the ship "Lark" with supplies for Astoria. She had scarcely sailed before it became known to him that the Northwest Company had for the second time memorialized the British government, representing Astoria as

an American establishment of great strength, with a vast scope of purpose, and urging that it be destroyed. In answer to this memorial that government ordered the frigate "Phœbe" to convoy the armed ship "Isaac Todd," of the Northwest Company, which was ready to sail with men and supplies for a new establishment at the mouth of the Columbia. They were to proceed together to the mouth of that river, capture or destroy whatever American fortress they should find there, and plant the British flag upon its ruins.

To meet this new and alarming condition of affairs, Mr. Astor appealed to the government, and the frigate "Adams," with Captain Crane commanding, was ordered to the mouth of the Columbia, and Mr. Astor immediately proceeded to fit out the ship "Enterprise" with supplies and reinforcements to sail in her company for Astoria. Just as the two ships were ready for sea, however, the exigencies of the American naval service on Lake Ontario called for more seamen, and those of the "Adams" were transferred to the squadron of Commodore Chauncey, and the Astoria expedition was abandoned.

To attempt to trace the complicated movements of the different parties in one way or another connected with the various expeditions, both by sea and by land, that in some manner affected the history of the great enterprise of Mr. Astor, would be going outside the scope of this story. However, considering the vastness of the enterprise, and the fact that it would require several years at least before any intelligent estimate of success or failure could be made, the readiness of McDougal and his partners to sell out and give up the interests of the Pacific Fur Company at Astoria as soon as adverse conditions were encountered, make it necessary to charge them either with a most deplorable lack of foresight and courage or with what is worse, rank treachery and disloyalty to Mr. Astor and American interests generally.

On October 7, 1813, McTavish returned to Astoria with a force of seventy-five men, to meet the vessel that had been the cause of his former visit, and bringing also the news that her coming to the Columbia was for the purpose of capturing Astoria, and to assist the Northwest Company in gaining ascendancy on the coast. McTavish offered

to buy the furs of the Astorians, and on the 16th of October, 1813, a transfer of the entire stock, worth at least $100,000, was made for less than $40,000. Two months later, on December 12th, the British sloop of war "Raccoon," which had meantime arrived, received the formal surrender of the fort. The American flag was lowered to give the British colors place, and the name of Astoria was changed to "Fort George."

About two and one-half months after the surrender of Astoria to the British, Mr. Hunt arrived at that fort in the brig "Pedlar," only to learn the astounding and humiliating news that McDougal was no longer a partner of the Pacific, but of the Northwest Company; that he held possession of Astoria, not under the American, but under the British flag, and that all in which Mr. Hunt was interested on this coast had passed without a struggle, through treachery or cowardice, into the hands of his country's enemies.

It will be remembered that Mr. Hunt, who was Mr. Astor's immediate representative in charge of the Pacific Fur Company, sailed northward from Astoria in the ship "Beaver," in the interests of the fur trade.

This was in the summer of 1812. Unfortunately for the whole enterprise, he accompanied the "Beaver" as far as the Sandwich Islands, and while detained there the news of the war arrived. In 1813 the "Lark," the third vessel sent forward by Astor, became a total loss, by shipwreck, on the Sandwich Islands. The "Lark" carried instructions to Mr. Hunt to protect Astoria, and immediately upon receipt of these instructions, Mr. Hunt sailed for Astoria in the "Pedlar," with supplies. He arrived, however, too late to prevent or remedy the grievous wrong, and it remained for him only to gather up the fragments that were left of the interests of Mr. Astor and his great company. Early in the spring of 1814 Mr. Hunt sailed from the shore that had yielded only misfortune and disaster in return for the efforts of himself and his associates. The following day David Stuart, Donald McKenzie, John Clarke, and eighty-five other members and employees of the Pacific Fur Company started up the Columbia River in their boats, *en route* across the continent.

CHAPTER XIII.

ASTORIA FORMALLY RESTORED TO THE UNITED STATES. — JOINT OCCUPATION TREATY. — FLORIDA TREATY.

THE War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States was terminated on December 14, 1814, by the Treaty of Ghent, by which it was stipulated that "all territory, places and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, shall be restored without delay." There was no allusion in the treaty to the northwest coast, or to any territory west of the Lake of the Woods, hence the Oregon question was left for further discussion, and the Columbia remained disputed territory.

While Astoria was not distinctly named in the treaty, by implication its terms would seem to cover that fort, and call for its immediate surrender by the English there. Mr. Astor therefore at once applied to the

President for restitution of his property, under the treaty, as he not only desired to recover his losses, but to resume operations on the Columbia, and carry out the plan of American occupation which had been so well begun.

Accordingly, in July, 1815, the government notified the British minister at Washington that it would immediately re-occupy the captured fort at the mouth of the Columbia; but the notification elicited no official response from Great Britain.

For two years no active measures were taken, and finally in September, 1817, the sloop of war "Ontario" was despatched to the Columbia, commanded by Capt. J. Biddle, who, with Mr. J. B. Prevost, who went as a passenger, constituted a commission to accomplish the purpose declared. They were instructed to assert the claim of the United States to sovereignty over the region of the Columbia, but to do so in an inoffensive manner.

This step compelled Great Britain to define her position. Her representative at Washington officially inquired of Secretary Adams the destination and object of the "Ontario," and with the information he

received in response to his query was the intimation that since England had paid no attention to the notice given her two years before, it had been assumed that she had no intention of claiming any sovereign rights along the Columbia. In answer to this the British minister stated that the post at the mouth of the Columbia was the private property of the Northwest Company, having been purchased by its agent from a partner of Mr. Astor ; but as such sale would convey only the use of the land with the property on it, and as a citizen cannot sell land so as to give it over to another government, he made another point, that is, that "the territory itself was early taken possession of in his majesty's name, and had been since considered as forming part of his majesty's dominions," — referring, presumably, to the establishment on Fraser River, many hundred miles to the north.

Quite a spirited controversy was maintained for some time, involving on each side the question of abstract rights by discovery and absolute rights by possession, both parties basing a claim upon each of these foundations. The claims then put forward remained practically the same until the ques-

tion was settled in 1846, with the modification only of additional settlements made between these periods.

Within a few months a temporary agreement was effected, by which it was decided that Astoria and the other posts should remain the actual property of the Northwest Company, but that nominal possession should be given to the United States as a nation, the question of title being deferred for future negotiation.

This decision was a severe blow to the hopes of Mr. Astor, who had looked to the government to place him in possession of the property which he had lost through the fortunes of war and the treachery of one of his partners. So firmly intrenched was the Northwest Company that he did not deem it advisable to found a rival establishment, and he abandoned his effort to engage in the fur trade on the Pacific.

While these negotiations were in progress, the "Ontario" was fulfilling her mission. She arrived at Valparaiso in February, 1818, and Mr. Prevost debarked, having an official mission to the Chilean government. Captain Biddle continued northward, and entered the Columbia in August, taking

formal possession of the country in the name of the United States. He then sailed to other portions of the Pacific.

Meanwhile, the controversy having been temporarily settled upon the terms outlined above, the British government delegated Captain Sheriff, of the navy, as commissioner to execute a formal transfer of Fort George. The agent of the Northwest Company, Mr. Keith, was also notified by his superior officers of what was about to be done, the orders going overland with the annual Montreal express, and he was enjoined to offer no opposition to the formal transfer.

Captain Sheriff sailed in the frigate "Blossom," and meeting Mr. Prevost in Chile, offered him passage to the Columbia in his vessel, which courtesy was accepted.

The "Blossom" cast anchor at Astoria early in October, and Mr. Keith surrendered formal possession of the property, retaining, of course, actual possession and ownership. When the formal preliminaries were at an end, the British standard was lowered, and the stars and stripes were temporarily displayed upon the walls of the fort, while the guns of the "Blossom" roared a noisy

salute. The American ensign was then lowered, and the ceremony was at an end.

The United States was thus again nominally in possession of Oregon, while the actual possessors were the agents of the Northwest Company, subjects of Great Britain, who remained thus in possession until 1845.

Fort George in 1818, when formally restored to the United States, was a far different structure from Astoria as it existed when surrendered to the Northwest Company in 1813. The British had made of it a formidable stronghold, for those times. A stockade of pine logs, rising twelve feet above the ground, encompassed a parallelogram 150 × 250 feet in size. Within this were dwellings, storehouses, magazines, shops, etc. The walls mounted two eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, four four-pound carronades, two six-pound cohorns, and seven swivels. These remained after the surrender, and Fort George, or Astoria, as it was again called, was practically as much a British post as before.

Many questions were left undecided by the Treaty of Ghent, and in 1818 they were renewed before a joint commission at

London, especially the boundary question from the Lake of the Woods west. The commission agreed to the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary from the lake to the mountains. Neither side seemed willing to recede from the positions assumed at the beginning of the controversy; but the English commissioners finally declared as an ultimatum that they would accede to no boundary which did not give to England the mouth of the Columbia; so, to avoid an open rupture, and with the hope that time would inject a new element into the question, a joint occupation was agreed to in these words: —

"It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwestern coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two powers," etc.

That was a most unfortunate move for Great Britain. Ultimately it lost her the prize at stake. In that signature she signed

away any chance she had to that magnificent domain. True, the compromise on joint occupation gave to the Northwest Company (and to its successor, the Hudson's Bay Company) a practical monopoly of the fur trade. It was now in possession of this, almost to the exclusion of all other parties and interests. But the policy of this company was really hostile to English and national interests, — it was to cultivate wilderness and not civilization, trading huts and not settlements, half-breeds and not English families.

This treaty of joint occupation remained in force, by extension with mutual consent, until the question of the Oregon boundary was definitely settled in 1846.

A strong link was forged in the chain of title of the United States to Oregon, on the 22d of February, 1819, by the consummation of negotiations which the State Department had been carrying on for some time. This was the signing of a treaty with Spain — the Florida Treaty — by which the province of Florida was conveyed to the United States, including all the rights, claims, and pretensions of Spain to any territories north and east of a line drawn from

Astoria

the source of the Arkansas, north to the forty-second parallel, and thence to the Pacific. This remained the boundary between the United States and Mexico, and between the disputed land of Oregon and the Mexican possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It still continues to be the southern boundary of Oregon, but ceased to divide the United States from Mexico when California, New Mexico, and Arizona were conquered or purchased.

CHAPTER XIV.

Rival English Fur Companies.

FROM December 12, 1813, when Astoria passed into the hands of the British, the Northwest Company practically had full control of Oregon, and the formal restoration in 1818 in no wise checked its domination of that region. However, a fierce and bloody struggle was going on between the Northwest Company and the older Hudson's Bay Company for possession of the fur regions of America. The companies had grown too large to be tolerant of each other.

When the Northwest Company was first organized, the old company, enjoying chartered privileges and supreme monopoly of a vast extent of territory, laughed with derision at the idea that a few independent traders could so combine as to become dangerous rivals, but that such was the fact was quickly demonstrated. The Northwest Company began operations on a thorough

system, by which it soon developed into a powerful and wealthy corporation. In the height of its success it gave employment to two thousand voyageurs, while its agents penetrated the wilderness in all directions in search of furs. It was the pioneer of the Northwest. While the chartered monopoly confined its operations within the limits of its grant, the new organization was exploring and taking possession of that vast region lying between Lake Superior and the Pacific, from the Missouri to the Arctic Ocean, and this aggressive policy soon resulted in hostile collisions between representatives and agents of the rival companies, leading to a state of open and actual warfare between them.

In 1821 the English Parliament put an end to this bloody feud and ruinous competition by consolidating the rival companies under the name of The Honorable Hudson's Bay Company, by which was created an organization far more powerful than either had been before, and England no doubt considered that she had gained a united and potent agent for the advancement of her interests in America. The settlements on the Red, Assiniboine, and Saskatchewan

Rivers were renewed, and Winnipeg became in a few years the centre of a prosperous community. The new company took possession of Fort George and other posts along the Columbia River, and thereafter became closely woven into the history of the Oregon country. Of the nature and spirit of this possession and occupation, and the meaning of these to American interests, Greenhow in his "History of Oregon and California" eloquently witnesses. He says: "When the Hudson's Bay Company was before Parliament in 1837 for the renewal of its charter, they 'claimed and received the aid and consideration of government for their energy and success in expelling the Americans from the Columbia regions, and forming settlements there, by means of which they were rapidly converting Oregon into a British colony.'" Had it been true that this company had been exerting its efforts in founding *settlements* in the Columbia region, no doubt Oregon would have become a British colony; but the fact was, it was their policy to prevent settlement of the country.

The following extract from Dr. William Barrows's description of the Hudson's Bay Company will serve to give the reader an

approximate idea of the extent of that company's operations in Oregon.

"It [The Hudson's Bay Company] had no rival to share the field, or waste the profits in litigation, or in bloody feuds beyond the region of law. It extended its lines, multiplied its posts and agents, systematized communication through the immense hunting grounds, economized time and funds by increased expedition, made many of its factories really fortifications, and so put the whole northern interior under British rule, and yet without a soldier. Rivers, lakes, mountains and prairies were covered by its agents and trappers. The white and the red men were on most friendly terms, and the birch canoe and the periogue were seen carrying, in mixed company, both races, and, what was more, their mixed progeny. The extent of territory under this company seems almost fabulous. It was one-third larger than all Europe; it was larger than the United States of to-day, Alaska included, by half a million of square miles. . . . In 1836 one of the Company's ships left Fort Vancouver for London, with a cargo of furs valued at $380,000. . . . When the English government, in 1846, conceded the claims of the United States to Oregon, property of the Hudson's Bay Company was found within Oregon for which that company claimed $4,990,036.67. One cannot but admire the foresight, compass, policy, and

ability with which those English fur traders moved to gain possession, and then keep in wilderness for fur-bearing, so much of North America."

The Northwest Company in 1821, prior to the consolidation, established a post on the north bank of the Columbia several miles above the mouth of the Willamette. As this was on the point named "Vancouver" by Lieutenant Broughton in 1792, the post was christened "Fort Vancouver." In 1823, soon after the consolidation, the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company was removed from Fort George to Fort Vancouver, because the latter possessed the desirable features of such an establishment more fully than any other location in this whole region. It was near the mouth of the Willamette River, and therefore the centre and natural converging point of trapping parties coming down the Columbia from the vast wilderness to the east, from the rich trapping grounds to the south, or from the upper coast and Puget Sound. Agriculturally the surroundings were all that could be desired to raise the large crops of grain and vegetables required at all the company's posts,

and to furnish pasturage for the beef and dairy cattle. It was easily approachable by deep-water vessels of large draught, and presented excellent natural facilities for loading and discharging cargo. Vancouver was, in short, the most eligible site on the Columbia River for the chief trading post, and remained the company's headquarters until it abandoned the region entirely in 1858.

CHAPTER XV.

Indefinite Extension of Joint Occupation Treaty.

THE claims of the United States to Oregon became a tedious, perplexing, and annoying topic, and the question dragged its slow length along through three-score years. The hard-fought battle for possession of this territory of vast natural values will be more interesting and more comprehensible if we give some thought to the extent of the Oregon of original controversy.

By common consent the forty-second degree of latitude was the boundary between Oregon and California. The Pacific coast of Oregon ran from the forty-second degree to fifty-four forty, north. From that northern point on the coast it ran due east to the heights of the Rocky Mountains, and followed that divide down to the forty-second degree again. The territory so enclosed was the original, not the final, Oregon,

extending about seven hundred and sixty miles north and south by about six hundred and fifty east and west. This area is equal to Massachusetts sixty-three times, and to Great Britain and Ireland four times.

Briefly stated, the United States claimed Oregon on the following grounds:

1. By prior discovery. As the new world was a novelty to the old, so sectional discoveries in it by different nations introduced into the law of nations novel rights and laws concerning newly discovered lands. By general consent the discovery of the St. Lawrence gave the basin of that river to the French, and that of the Hudson to the Dutch, and of the Potomac to the English, while the coasts and basins of New Spain fell in the same way to Old Spain. On the same general principles and usages the United States claimed the country drained by the Columbia, since that river had been discovered and explored by Capt. Robert Gray, of the ship "Columbia," from Boston, in 1792.

2. By the Louisiana Purchase. In 1762 France ceded to Spain all her territory west of the Mississippi; Spain returned it in 1800; and France sold the same to the United

States in 1803, "with all its rights and appurtenances," says the treaty, "as fully, and in the same manner, as they have been acquired by the French Republic." The northern boundary of the Province of Louisiana was the forty-ninth parallel, running westward "along that line indefinitely"; hence there is room for a doubt how far west Louisiana extended on that parallel. If, however, the claims of France failed to reach the Pacific on that line, it must have been because they encountered the old claims of Spain, that preceded the Nootka Treaty, and were tacitly conceded at that time, and in it, by England. If, therefore, the United States failed to gain the Pacific coast in the Louisiana Purchase, it was because Spain had not relinquished her right there.

3. By the Florida Treaty. In 1819 this treaty conveyed to the United States the Province of Florida, including all the rights, claims, and pretensions of Spain to any territories north and east of a line drawn from the source of the Arkansas River north to the forty-second parallel and thence to the Pacific.

4. By prior explorations. The purchase of the Louisiana Province by the United

States was known at once among the nations. Immediately and openly, under their full view, and as if with full right to go and examine a piece of newly purchased property, the United States sent Lewis and Clark to explore this grand addition to the Union. This expedition was not a private enterprise, as of scientific men or Indian traders, but was a government undertaking, confessedly for government ends.

5. By prior settlements. Distinction is here made between the occupation and the settlement of a country. Hudson's Bay Company's traders and trappers occupied Oregon for peltry and furs, and thereby gained the rights of hunters. Such pursuits and rights are the same as those of the native Indians. It is claimed that the interests of civilization cannot leave vast tracts of wild country to the Indians for a game life. The first corporation and colony to contemplate settlements was Astor's. His project, as is shown by his correspondence with the government through Thomas Jefferson, anticipated civil society; and the government favored his plans, as comprehending civilization on the northwest coast and binding over the territory to the Union

by settlements. Astoria was the first settlement made by white men in the valley of the Columbia River, and establishes the claim of the United States there by prior settlement.

On the part of Great Britain it was claimed that the country was originally discovered by Sir Francis Drake, and its coast thoroughly explored by Captain Cook and Captain Vancouver; that the discovery of the Columbia River had been a progressive one, the successive steps having been taken by Heceta, Meares, Vancouver, Gray, and Broughton, claiming that Captain Gray had not entered the river proper, but simply the estuary at its mouth, and that Broughton was the first to actually enter and explore the Columbia, denying also that Gray, who was simply a trader, could acquire discovery rights for his government; and, finally, that she held the country by right of exploration and possession, since Mackenzie had made an overland journey prior to that of Lewis and Clark, Fraser had built a fort on Fraser Lake before Astoria was founded, and the Northwest Company, having purchased at private sale the property of the Pacific Fur Company, then held possession of the Colum-

bia River region by settlements at Astoria and other points along the river.

For many years the Oregon question was spasmodically discussed in Congress, and much correspondence was had between the United States and Great Britain on the subject. The ten years' limit of joint occupation had now more than half expired, and though many things were proposed at various times, nothing was actually done to promote American interests in Oregon.

Further complication was added to the situation by Russia officially claiming, on the 16th of September, 1821, her right to title on the west coast of North America as far south as latitude 51°. Great Britain and the United States at once protested, and Russia replied that her claim was based upon discovery, exploration, and unquestioned occupation for a period of fifty years. It was at this juncture that the celebrated Monroe doctrine was first enunciated in an official document, on December 2, 1823. This likewise elicited a formal protest from both England and Russia, and in no wise simplified the difficult situation.

In 1826, within two years of the expiration of the Joint Occupation Treaty, the

attempt to settle the Oregon question was vigorously renewed. The complete claims and offered compromises of the two nations were submitted in written statements, and were published in full in the message of President Adams of December 12, 1827.

There was no essential difference in the claims made by the contending parties from those set forth theretofore, — they were simply urged in different language, and with a better understanding of the subject. The Louisiana title was made a prominent feature by the United States.

Not being able to come to any understanding upon the main question at issue, a definite boundary line, the negotiations were brought to a close in 1827 by the signing of an agreement indefinitely extending the period of joint occupation, making it terminable by either party upon giving twelve months' notice to that effect.

Thus was the aid of time again invoked to furnish a solution of this vexatious problem.

CHAPTER XVI.

Attempted Joint Occupation.

"JOINT occupation" in Oregon proved to be but another illustration of the frequent wide divergence between theory and practice.

So comprehensive and powerful had grown the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest that it was fruitless for any American company to attempt to compete with it. While, therefore, the terms of joint occupation provided for equality between the two parties, the practical working was a monopoly by one, and at the end of ten years of ostensible joint occupation Oregon was mainly British in its occupants, business, and profits.

The chief difficulty which lay in the pathway of American traders in their efforts to compete with the great English corporation was a lack of unity of purpose and combination of capital and effort. The competition among them was disastrous to all, and in a

few years the whole trade, so far as Americans were concerned, was ruined. In their competition with the English monopoly they were at a fatal disadvantage, — one unsuccessful season meant financial disaster, while to the great corporation, covering such a vast scope of country, such a thing as a completely unsuccessful year was an impossibility.

Candor compels the confession that there were also other reasons for the success of the English and utter failure of the American traders, and these were the great difference in their methods of treating the natives, and the character of the men engaged in the business. The American trappers were to a large extent made up of a class of wild, reckless, and brutal men, many of them fugitives from justice. With them might made right, and Indian fighting was one of their chief accomplishments. A perpetual state of hostility existed between them and the Blackfeet and other warlike tribes. Alcohol was a leading article of merchandise, and the annual assemblage at the points of rendezvous and the meetings with Indians for the purposes of trade were invariably the scenes of drunken debauchery. Many

Photo. by George M. Weister, Portland

PORTLAND IN 1854

impositions were practised on the Indians, and the men, being irresponsible and without restraint, were guilty of numerous acts of injustice. The Indians learned neither uprightness nor morality from contact with traders of this class, and had respect only for their fearlessness.

The reverse was the case with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, — men reared to the business, as had been their fathers before them, and cheerfully obedient to the rigid discipline maintained by the company. It was the company's policy to avoid all trouble with the natives, to whom they gave no liquor whatever, and by just and generous treatment they sought to bind the Indians to them by a community of interest; yet an act of bad faith or treachery was never permitted to go unrebuked. By these means the Hudson's Bay Company obtained an influence among the tribes covering a region over a thousand miles square, which amounted almost to the authority of government; and this influence was so powerful that not only were the Indians won over to the English side, but they were made to feel that they had no right to trade with Americans, and the pernicious idea was

carried, wide and clear, through all the tribes, that the Americans would take their lands, while the English wished only to trade in furs.

Following is a short recital of the leading efforts made by Americans to occupy Oregon jointly with the English, beginning with the early American fur enterprises east of the Rocky Mountains.

The year 1763 saw the establishment of Fort St. Louis where now the great city of that name stands, and this became the headquarters of the fur trade as carried on by the French of Louisiana.

After the United States became a nation, Americans engaged in the fur trade along and west of the Great Lakes, Mackinaw becoming their general headquarters. These men were chiefly New York merchants, the leading spirit being John Jacob Astor, whose unfortunate attempt to found an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia has been related.

Immediately following the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, St. Louis became the goal of thousands of young men who loved the excitement and adventures of frontier life, and it was not long before

Americans began to be in a majority in the various brigades of trappers which roamed the plains as far west as the base of the Rocky Mountains, while the direction of these enterprises fell almost entirely into their hands. The French trappers, however, never entirely disappeared, for their names are found frequently mentioned in all narratives concerning the trapping fraternity.

An act of Congress in 1815, expelling British subjects from the territories east of the Rocky Mountains, although it remained a dead letter, served to stimulate the American traders. The American Fur Company, at the head of which was Mr. Astor, then operating in the lake region from Mackinaw, began to send trapping parties farther west, reaching the head waters of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Other American traders opened an important trade between St. Louis and Santa Fé, the latter becoming headquarters for the fur business in the region of New Mexico, then a province of Mexico.

Up to this time the operations of American trappers had not extended beyond the base of the Rocky Mountains, except in

the instance of the Missouri Fur Company, organized at St. Louis in 1808, stimulated by the reports of the Columbia region brought in by Lewis and Clark, and headed by Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard. Mr. Henry, a partner, established Fort Henry the same year, on Lewis, or Snake, River, just west of the summit of the mountains, and other posts were founded on the upper Missouri. Two years later, however, the latter were abandoned, owing to a failure of supplies and the hostility of the natives.

In 1823-24 trappers despatched by the Rocky Mountain Fur Company up the Platte River to the Sweetwater discovered the famous South Pass (the one Frémont endeavored to appropriate to himself twenty years later), and also found Great Salt Lake, and before returning explored the head waters of the Colorado, or Green, River.

From that time the Rocky Mountains were the favorite trapping grounds of the Americans.

In 1825 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company despatched Jedediah S. Smith with a party of forty men into the country west of Great Salt Lake. He discovered Hum-

boldt River, which he named "Mary's River," and following down that stream, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains, arriving in the Sacramento Valley in July. This was undoubtedly the first overland journey to California. Smith had good success, and leaving the majority of his company to continue their operations, returned to the general rendezvous on Green River. On his homeward journey he crossed the mountains in the vicinity of Mono Lake, discovering large deposits of placer gold in that region, specimens of which he took with him to exhibit to his employers on Green River.

Smith again started for California in the spring of 1826, to rejoin the party he had left there, of whose success he and his partners entertained high hopes. On this journey he went as far south as the Colorado River, and at some point on that stream his party was attacked by Indians, who killed all except Smith and two of his companions. After a series of harrowing adventures the three survivors found the men Smith had left the year before, in camp on the American River in the vicinity of Folsom, their sojourn there leading to the bestowal of that title upon the stream.

Soon afterward Smith and the whole party started northward, crossing to the coast in the vicinity of Russian River. They continued along the coast to the Umpqua River, and while ferrying their effects across the stream on a rudely constructed raft, the party was attacked by Indians with whom they were holding friendly intercourse, and again but three of the party survived, Smith being one of them. Smith and Daniel Prior, another of the survivors, landed on the opposite side of the stream, and succeeded in making their way to Vancouver, where they received a warm and sympathetic welcome. A few days later the third survivor, Richard Laughlin, made his appearance, more forlorn, if possible, than the others. The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company would have done their utmost to ruin Smith's business had he come into their field with a band of trappers; but one in his pitiable condition — his followers massacred, and his furs and accoutrements plundered — could only excite their deepest sympathy.

It happened that Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company was at Fort Vancouver at the time Smith arrived in such a forlorn condition, and he at once sent out

a party under Thomas McKay, to punish the Indians and recover the captured property, both as a necessary step to maintain the company's authority and as an act of courtesy to the despoiled trader. Accounts vary as to the degree of punishment inflicted, but at all events the furs, which were very valuable, were recovered and conveyed to Vancouver; and since Smith could not carry them, having no means, and since the company from a business point of view could not afford to provide him with facilities for carrying on opposition to it, he sold the whole lot to the company for $40,000. They were doubtless worth more in St. Louis, but under the circumstances this was probably a fair price for them on the Columbia River.

The outcome of this Smith expedition has furnished material for much controversy and most sweeping condemnation and suspicion of the Hudson's Bay Company, many people in position to be informed professing to believe that the company encouraged a general spirit of hostility against Americans, and that in this instance the Indians were actually compensated for the services rendered the English company in destroying Smith's expedition and killing his men.

However, there is in fact no reliable authority or reasonable ground for such presumption, and the idea is inconsistent with the character of the men who administered the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, and especially with the kind and benevolent Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor at Vancouver. Beyond all doubt it was the general policy of the Hudson's Bay Company to prevent American invasion of this region, as has been stated heretofore, but general hostility against the Americans was not encouraged, and Dr. McLoughlin a number of times saved Americans from Indian atrocities by opportune interference; and it is also a fact that in after years he lost the favor of his superior officers for not withholding from American settlers the aid their necessities required.

Smith's report of the excellence of the region to the south as a trapping ground aroused the Hudson's Bay Company to the importance of reaping the benefit of the American trader's enterprise, and erelong they sent out two expeditions in different directions to trap over the field Smith had explored. On their journey southward they bestowed several of the familiar names of

southern Oregon, such as "Jump-off-Joe," "Rogue River," and "Siskiyou Mountains."

The second party of American trappers to enter Oregon was that of Major Pilcher. They left Green River in 1828, and passed along the western base of the Rocky Mountains to Flathead Lake, where they wintered. In the spring they descended Clark's Fork and the main Columbia to Colville River, ascending to its source, and then started on their return eastward. This party was plundered and murdered by Indians, Pilcher and two companions alone surviving. As in the case of the Smith expedition, grave and serious charges have been made against the Hudson's Bay Company in connection with the matter, but without foundation, unless suspicion and prejudice can be so considered.

Following this, Oregon was visited by a party of American trappers under Ewing Young, who had been for years a leader of trapping parties from Santa Fé to the head waters of the Del Norte, Rio Grande, and Colorado Rivers. Young entered California through Walker's Pass in 1829, and returned the next year. In 1832 he again entered California, following Smith's route

into Oregon as far as the Umpqua River, where he turned eastward, crossing the mountains to the tributary streams of the Columbia and Snake Rivers, entered Sacramento Valley again from the north, and finally crossed out by the Tejon Pass, having been absent from Santa Fé two years. Mr. Young soon returned, and became one of the most energetic of the American settlers in Oregon, and his death in 1841, without heirs to inherit or take charge of his quite extensive estate, brought about the organization of a temporary provisional government.

In 1831 the old American Fur Company began to push into the trapping grounds of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and great rivalry sprang up between them, which was intensified the following year by the appearance of two other competitors, Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville and Nathaniel J. Wyeth.

After a winter journey attended with many hardships Bonneville reached Fort Walla Walla on March 4, 1834, his object being to get acquainted with the country and the Indians with a view to establishing a trading post somewhere on the lower part of the Columbia River, " so as to participate

in the trade lost to the United States by the capture of Astoria."

Though kindly received at Fort Walla Walla by the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company at that post, when he wished to purchase supplies that would enable him to return to the Rocky Mountains he found it impossible to do so, the man in charge explaining that however much he personally might feel disposed to serve him, he felt bound by his duty to the Hudson's Bay Company to do nothing which would facilitate or encourage the visits of other traders among the Indians in that part of the country. Bonneville remained at the fort but two days longer, for his destitute condition, combined with the lateness of the season, made it necessary for him to return immediately, and he reached the general rendezvous for his various expeditions only after incredible hardships and privations.

In July, 1834, Bonneville started on a second expedition to the Columbia with a formidable number of trappers and mountain men, well equipped, and with an extensive stock of goods to traffic with the Indians. Still contemplating a restoration of American trade in this section, he pur-

posed establishing a post in the Willamette Valley. When he arrived at the mouth of the Umatilla River, he was surprised to find the natives shunning him. They ran from his men, hid themselves, and when intercepted, refused to have anything to do with the Americans. Not a skin, a horse, a dog, or a fish could be obtained from them, they having been warned by the Hudson's Bay Company not to traffic with these newcomers. Nothing remained but immediate evacuation or starvation, and Bonneville decided to abandon his attempt at joint occupancy, and left the English company in undisputed possession of the field.

Nathaniel J. Wyeth's effort to occupy Oregon was made about the same time. With eleven men who knew nothing of the trapper's life, he crossed the plains, and reached Vancouver on October 29, 1832. Mr. Wyeth had invested his whole fortune in the enterprise, and had brought with him a large stock of goods such as were used in the Indian trade. He was received with great hospitality by Dr. McLoughlin. The next spring he left for the East, a financial bankrupt, only two of his followers accompanying him. It does not appear that the

company's officers contributed in any way to produce this result; but if they did not, it was probably because it was unnecessary to do so. Had not other causes, that is, the wrecking of his supply ship which had been sent around Cape Horn, and Wyeth's utter ignorance of the business of fur trading, led to his failure, the company would undoubtedly have protected its interests, as it did upon his next venture two years later.

Returning to Boston, Mr. Wyeth organized the Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company, with a view to continuing operations on the Pacific coast under the same general plan that had been outlined by Astor, adding, however, salmon fishing to the fur trade. He despatched the brig "Mary Dacres" for the mouth of the Columbia, loaded with supplies and implements needed in his proposed undertaking. She had on board also supplies for the Methodist mission, spoken of hereafter. With sixty experienced men Mr. Wyeth himself started overland in 1834. Near the head waters of Snake River he built Fort Hall, as an interior trading post, the name being that of one of his partners. Here he left twelve men and a stock of

goods. He then pushed forward to the Columbia River and erected a fort on Sauvie's Island at the mouth of the Willamette River, which he called "Fort Williams," in honor of another partner; and again the American flag waved over soil west of the Rocky Mountains.

Wyeth was once more received hospitably by the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, and though they continued to show him courtesy, this did not prevent them from taking the steps necessary to protect the company's interests. Fort Boise was established by them as an opposition to Fort Hall, and drew the bulk of the trade of the Indians of Snake River.

On the Columbia River Wyeth found that the natives were so completely under the control of the company that he could establish no business relations whatever with them. In two years he was compelled to sell all his possessions, including Fort Hall, to the Hudson's Bay Company, and abandon this second effort at joint occupation, in which he had sunk a fortune. To the disastrous result of Wyeth's efforts the operations and manipulations of the American Fur Company and Rocky Mountain Fur Company largely contributed.

In 1835 the two rival American fur companies were consolidated as "The American Fur Company." The retirement of Bonneville and the sale of Fort Hall by Wyeth left only the consolidated company and a few "lone traders" to compete with the English corporation. For a few years longer the struggle was maintained, but gradually the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the trade until the American trappers, so far as organized effort was concerned, abandoned the field.

Referring to the failure of joint occupation, in "Oregon," American Commonwealths series, Barrows says: —

"Possibly an American Company, consolidated out of these we have mentioned, protected and patronized by the government, could have become a successful rival of the English one in Oregon. But it is not in the genius of our government to do such things. A gigantic monopoly comes more naturally from a monarchical government, while our democratic theory leaves privilege and success to be divided as the fruit of individual toil and competition. As will be seen, this, rather than the monopolies that are the gifts of kings, won the day."

CHAPTER XVII.

Advent of the Missionary in Oregon.

WHEN honors are being conferred upon those who valiantly shared in the exploring, colonizing, diplomatic, and forensic efforts which saved Oregon to the Union, it were unfair to overlook the four Indians who arrived in St. Louis in 1832, from beyond mountain fastnesses, through hostile territory for thousands of miles, delegated by their tribe to go in search of the book which would teach the red man more of the white man's God. As a result of the journey of these poor Indians there was introduced into the Oregon question the new and decisive factor hoped for when the Joint Occupation Treaty was indefinitely continued in 1827. Strange it is that the red man's desire for more light from the "white man's Book of Heaven" directly brought about what military posts, fur traders, emigrants, and diplomatic controversies had signally failed to accomplish.

From Lewis and Clark the Indians west of the Rocky Mountains first learned of the white man's God. They were told that the Great Spirit worshipped by their visitors had made of their people a powerful nation, given them books, guns, clothing, and a thousand things the red man did not possess. Other white men who came later increased the already keen desire of the Indians to learn about this powerful God, and possess that wonderful book which He had given to these strange people. They must know more. It was gravely and anxiously settled that some of their number should go on the long trail to the rising sun to find the book and bring back the light, and finally, in 1832, four Flathead Indians of the Nez Percé branch of the tribe were delegated to proceed to St. Louis, which they believed to be the great centre of the white man's power, and procure there this wonderful book and some one to teach them its contents. It was a remarkable quest.

The messengers made known distinctly the fact that they had come their long journey to get the white man's book which would tell them of the white man's God and heaven; but their request was disregarded, — they

were even laughed at by many to whom they applied.

After two of their number had died in the city, the others set out sorrowfully on their return without having procured the great book and with their faith in its efficacy sadly shaken. One of them died on the way, yet their journey was not wholly fruitless. In their formal leave-taking at St. Louis one of the Indians made a speech in which the object of their mission was eloquently repeated and their failure lamented. A young man who heard the pathetic farewell was painfully impressed ; with some Christian sympathy for those benighted children of the mountains, he wrote an account of the affair to friends at Pittsburg, and through them the letter was published.

As a consequence of the publicity thus given the matter it was taken in hand by two organizations, — the Methodist Board of Missions, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the latter supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformed denominations.

The Methodists were the first to take the field. Rev. Jason Lee was given direction of the work. Mr. Lee was born in Canada,

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PORTLAND IN 1904

of American parents, and was ordained to the ministry in the United States. His associates were Rev. Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and P. L. Edwards. When Nathaniel J. Wyeth made his second journey to the Columbia, in 1834, as already related, this missionary party accompanied him. On the 1st of September they reached Fort Walla Walla, a post the Hudson's Bay Company had established on the Columbia at the mouth of Walla Walla River, where the town of Wallula now stands. On the 15th they landed from boats at the company's headquarters at Vancouver. They were most cordially welcomed by Dr. McLoughlin, who entertained them with the greatest hospitality. It had been their intention to locate east of the mountains, but Dr. McLoughlin persuaded them to found their establishment in the Willamette Valley.

It was a fortunate thing for the United States that he did so, for the mission became the centre about which American settlers rallied a few years later, and it became an important factor in wresting Oregon from the grasp of Great Britain.

The location chosen was on the banks of the Willamette River, some sixty miles above

its mouth, and ten below the site of the present city of Salem. The missionaries began the erection of a log house, 32 × 18 feet, and so eager were they to begin their labors that they took possession of it on the 3d of November, 1834, in an uncompleted condition, and received Indian pupils before the roof was finished.

The relations of the missionaries with the people at Vancouver were most friendly and cordial. They were viewed by the officers of the company solely in their character as missionaries, their nationality and creed not being considered, and as such they received hospitable treatment and hearty encouragement in a work which was deemed beneficial. They proposed not only to teach religion to the Indians, but to teach them to till the soil and to do other useful and productive labor, by means of which their moral, mental, and physical condition might be elevated.

Their first harvest consisted of two hundred and fifty bushels of potatoes and a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, and peas. To this they added six barrels of salmon, procured from the Indians. In September, one year after their arrival, the first of a

series of misfortunes overtook them. An intermittent fever became prevalent, and four of the children died.

The Indians had been watching the movements of the missionaries with considerable interest, and these sad occurrences had a powerful effect on the superstitious nature of the savages, leading them to view with distrust the place where the Great Spirit was displaying his disapproval by causing the death of their children. Undaunted by disaster, however, the missionaries patiently continued their efforts, and the close of the year 1835 found them comfortably housed, with a sufficient supply of provisions, but with only ten pupils under their charge, while the Indians generally entertained serious doubts as to the advantage of having them there at all.

In the spring of 1835 the American Board of Foreign Missions despatched Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman, as a pioneer committee to examine the field and select suitable locations for missionary work. They joined a party of the American Fur Company, and accompanied them to the grand rendezvous on Green River, where they encountered a band of Nez Percé In-

dians who had come across the mountains to trade with the trappers, with whom the tribe was on terms of warmest friendship.

With a young chief of this band the missionaries had a consultation, and they resolved to establish at least two missions. It was accordingly agreed that Dr. Parker should continue the journey across the continent for the purpose of exploration, so that suitable locations might be selected. He was then to leave a letter of advice with the Nez Percés to be given to Whitman the next year, and return home by sea.

Dr. Whitman, accompanied by two young Nez Percés, returned to the East to procure the necessary assistance for the founding of the contemplated missions.

Dr. Parker resumed his journey westward on the 22d of August, 1835, and when he entered the Nez Percé country, received an ovation from the delighted Indians. No white man before or since was ever received by the natives of the Columbia with such cordiality and ceremonious distinction as greeted Dr. Parker on his way to Fort Walla Walla. His approach to an Indian village was the occasion of a general display of savage grandeur and hospitality. Here was one

who had come to tell them of that unseen and mysterious power which had done so many wonderful things for the white man, and they hoped now to learn how to worship that Great Spirit of whom they had heard their first white visitors speak, and who, they hoped, might smile upon them and make them wise and powerful. With this thought they received the missionary everywhere with outstretched arms and demonstrations of unbounded joy.

Dr. Parker reached Fort Walla Walla on the 5th of October, and a few days later passed down the Columbia in a boat, enjoying the hospitality of Dr. McLoughlin at Vancouver during the winter. In the spring he returned to the section east of the Cascade Mountains, and made a journey through the Nez Percé, Spokane, and Colville countries, after which he embarked from Vancouver for the Sandwich Islands, and thence for home, arriving in 1837. He soon after published an account of his travels, which was of special value at that time because of the deep interest the people were beginning to take in the Oregon question.

Dr. Whitman, with his two Indian com-

panions, reached Rushville, N. Y., his home, late one Saturday night, and his presence there, instead of in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, was first known when he walked quietly into church the next morning with his copper-hued friends, his mother starting up with a cry of astonishment and joy. During the winter all his arrangements were made, including his marriage in February, 1836, to Narcissa Prentiss, daughter of Stephen H. Prentiss.

Mrs. Whitman was a woman of refined nature, rare accomplishments of voice and manner, of commanding presence, firm in purpose, and an enthusiast in the line of her accepted duty. In this cause her deepest sympathies had been enlisted, and she cheerfully yielded all her fair prospects among friends and kindred, and devoted her life to isolation in a country so far away that the very name conveyed to the mind a sense of loneliness and mystery, and where a martyr's grave awaited her. These two, accompanied by Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, a lady of much firmness of character and devotion to duty, and W. H. Gray, set out on their westward journey in the spring of 1836, under escort of a party of the American Fur Company.

The missionary party took with them three wagons, eight mules, twelve horses, and sixteen cows, besides farming utensils, blacksmith and carpenter tools, seeds, clothing, etc., to enable them to become self-supporting. At Fort Laramie all the wagons but one were abandoned, but Whitman insisted on taking this one for the women to ride in. The trappers also concluded to try the experiment of wheels in the mountains, and safely took a small cart to the grand rendezvous on Green River.

Here the missionaries met Nathaniel J. Wyeth on his return home from his second unfortunate effort to test the virtues of joint occupation in Oregon, and were by him introduced to two Hudson's Bay Company agents about returning to Vancouver from a trapping and trading tour.

Notwithstanding the urgent objection of the trappers and their assurances that it was impossible for a wagon to pass through the mountains, Whitman insisted upon taking the vehicle along; but when he reached Fort Hall he was compelled to reduce it to two wheels, and at Fort Boise entire abandonment of it was demanded. Nevertheless, he had demonstrated that wagons could

cross the Rocky Mountains, and was satisfied that the remainder of the route presented no more formidable obstacles. The missionaries were met *en route* by a band of Nez Percés who had been informed in the spring by Dr. Parker of their expected arrival, and the reception accorded the travellers was only less impressive than had been that of their herald, whose failure to do anything for the Indians had served somewhat to cool the ardor which his appearance had raised to fever heat. The Whitman party received a hearty welcome at Fort Walla Walla on the 2d of September, 1836, which was repeated by Dr. McLoughlin a few days later when they landed from the company's boats at Fort Vancouver.

Leaving the women to enjoy the hospitality of the fort, the three men returned to Walla Walla, and with the aid of Mr. Pambrun, who was in charge there, sought suitable locations for their proposed missions. It was decided to locate one among the Cayuse and the other among the Nez Percé Indians.

The former was located at Waiilatpu, on the Walla Walla River, six miles west of the present city of Walla Walla, and was

taken charge of by Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. This was known as the "Waiilatpu," or "Whitman Mission," the former name signifying "the people," being the proper title of the Cayuse tribe.

Mr. and Mrs. Spalding founded the "Lapwai Mission," among the Nez Percés, at a place on the Clearwater River a few miles from the site of Lewiston, Idaho. Mr. Gray rendered material aid in constructing the two posts, and assisted the two principals in their missionary labors.

The next year, it being deemed advisable to extend the missionary field, Mr. Gray returned east to procure the necessary means and additional aid to accomplish that purpose. He was accompanied by four Nez Percés who took a large band of horses with them, the price of which they intended to contribute to the mission fund. On the Platte River the party was attacked by Sioux Indians, their horses stolen, and the four Nez Percés killed, Mr. Gray barely escaping with his life. In 1838 Gray again arrived in Oregon with Rev. E. Walker and wife, Rev. Cushing Eells and wife, Rev. A. B. Smith, Mrs. Gray, and Cornelius Rogers. With the party came Capt. John E. Sutter,

the honored pioneer of the Sacramento Valley.

The results of the first few years of missionary endeavor were quite encouraging. Owing partly to the novelty, the Indians seemed very anxious to labor, to learn at school, and to receive religious instruction. At Lapwai in 1839 one hundred and fifty children and as many more adults were in school. Two years later from one to two thousand gathered for religious instruction. For a time, when Dr. Whitman or Mr. Spalding travelled through the country, they were followed by hundreds of Indians, eager to see them, and to hear Bible truths. The natives had a strong desire for hoes and other agricultural implements, and were willing to part with any property they had in order to obtain them, even bringing their rifles to be manufactured into such articles. From eighty to one hundred families planted fields near Mr. Spalding, and many near Dr. Whitman raised enough provisions to comfortably supply their families.

In 1838 Mr. Spalding reported that his field produced two thousand bushels of potatoes, besides wheat and other articles. In the year 1841 a saw-mill and grist-mill were

erected among the Nez Percés, and a grist-mill among the Cayuses. Many of the Indians gave up their roving habits for a time, and remained most of the year at home.

In 1839 the mission received a donation from Rev. H. Bingham's church, at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, of a small printing-press, with types, furniture, paper, and other things, of the value of $450. The same church had, the year before, sent $80 in money and ten bushels of salt to the Oregon mission. Mr. E. O. Hall, a printer at the Sandwich Islands, came with the press, and the first book printed west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as known, was issued that fall in the Nez Percé language. This added new interest to the school, and other books in the same language, and one in that of the Spokanes, followed.

But as the novelty gradually wore off, discouragements multiplied.

The Methodist Mission founded by Jason Lee in the Willamette Valley, and which had met with much misfortune through sickness, was reinforced from time to time by enthusiastic recruits from the East. The scourge of fever still afflicted the mission, and it consequently bore ill repute among

the Indians of the Willamette River in spite of the most earnest and conscientious efforts of Mr. Lee and his associates to win the good will of those for whose benefit they had made so great a sacrifice.

To further strengthen missionary influence it was decided in 1838 to establish a mission at The Dalles, and Jason Lee went east to procure the money required for this purpose. He returned in 1840 with a party of forty-eight persons, eight of them being clergymen and nineteen women.

A new element was introduced into the mission field in 1838, in the form of two zealous Catholic priests. Rev. Francis N. Blanchet and Rev. Modest Demers came overland from Montreal with the regular express of the Hudson's Bay Company, reaching Vancouver on the 24th of November, 1838. Their coming had been solicited by the French Canadians in the valley of the Willamette, and was with the knowledge and consent of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. The priests came prepared to remain.

The coming of Catholics was the signal for the commencement of a contest for spiritual control of the Indians, the terrible

results of which are disclosed in the history of this section. For this both parties to the controversy were to blame. They were alike firmly set in their religious convictions, and intolerant of opposing or differing opinions. Imbued with the loftiest motives themselves, they did not possess sufficient charity or liberality to ascribe equally exalted purposes to their opponents. This spirit is exhibited to the present day in the rancorous writings of certain participants on either side. It is but a continuation of that sectarian rivalry, that battle of religious creeds, which has existed since first primitive man began to worship his shadow as a manifestation of some intangible and mysterious power, and which has caused so much bloodshed, misery, and horror in the world.

There was, upon the part of the Protestants as well as on the part of the Catholics, a determination to impress upon the Indians the fact that their particular creed and form of worship were the only true and potent ones, and that all others were both false and harmful. One thing gave the Catholics a decided advantage among the natives, — the use of symbols and ceremonies. These were more akin to the Indians' own ideas of

religion than the simple services of the Protestants.

There was also another distinction the Indians recognized, and one which gradually led them to entertain a spirit of bitterness and hostility against the Protestants. This was the affiliation of the missionaries with the American settlers, whose presence was highly distasteful to the Indians.

Thus was the contest waged for several years. The roving habits of the Indians, and the decrease in the attendance on the schools, increased the trials of the missionaries. By February, 1842, affairs seemed so discouraging that the Board of Missions concluded to give up the stations among the Cayuses and Nez Percés. Messrs. Spalding and Gray were to return east, and Dr. Whitman was to join the Spokane Mission at Tshimakain, which had been established in the spring of 1839.

In the fall of 1842, however, affairs took a more favorable turn, the Indians showing renewed interest in the efforts of the missionaries. Some of them were becoming more settled, so that fifty Cayuse and one hundred and fifty Nez Percé families cultivated from a quarter of an acre to five acres

each, and one Nez Percé chief raised one hundred and seventy-six bushels of peas, one hundred of corn, and three hundred of potatoes. It also became evident that more Americans were soon to come into the territory, and the missionaries therefore determined, in the fall of 1842, to continue all the stations, notwithstanding the instructions received from the Board at Boston, until the matter could be reconsidered.

These and other considerations rendered it expedient for Dr. Whitman to return east. He did so, leaving Walla Walla October 3, 1842, and reaching Boston March 30, 1843. He made such representations regarding missionary work in Oregon that the Board ratified the action of the mission in continuing all the stations. After transacting important business at Washington and visiting his friends, Dr. Whitman returned to Waiilatpu.

He left the western frontiers of Missouri May 31st, and after a short time overtook a company of about eight hundred and seventy-five emigrants, some of whom, when he was in the East, he had promised to aid should they determine to go to Oregon. This journey was successfully made, and the

first train of emigrant wagons rolled through to the Columbia River. This large and important emigration, and Dr. Whitman's connection therewith, are referred to more at length in a following chapter.

From this time the history of the missions becomes so closely interwoven with that of the settlements that no further effort will be made to keep it distinct.

Emigration to Oregon was considered and advocated long before there was any thought of founding missions, but it was deemed impracticable, and continued to be so considered until the missionaries and their wives demonstrated that the intervening mountains and deserts presented no barrier which might not be overcome even by women accustomed to the comforts of civilization. It then became but a matter of time, not a question of possibility, when emigrants should beat a well-worn trail to Oregon.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Emigration begins.—Establishment of Provisional Government.

THE first recorded instance of an effort to induce emigration to seek the far distant coast of Oregon was in 1817, when Hall J. Kelley, of Boston, advocated the immediate occupation of that country by American settlers.

At that time the United States was making her first genuine effort to regain possession of the Columbia, and was negotiating with Great Britain on the question of the restoration of Fort George, or Astoria. Mr. Kelley became an enthusiast upon the subject, and continued his exertions throughout the subsequent years of diplomatic negotiation.

In 1829 he organized a company which was incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts as "The American Society for the Settlement of the Oregon Territory."

This society presented a memorial to Congress in 1831, setting forth that it was "engaged in the work of opening to a civilized and virtuous population that part of Western America called Oregon."

Congress did not see fit to encourage this scheme of colonization. The society, however, which had constituted Mr. Kelley its general agent, continued its efforts to populate the Oregon territory. A number of expeditions were planned, overland and by sea, and several were undertaken, but resulted unsatisfactorily. Finally on October 15, 1834, Mr. Kelley reached Vancouver with a number of independent traders; but his health failed, and he departed for home the following March, having lost $30,000 in his efforts to colonize Oregon. He never returned, but throughout his long life never ceased to think, talk, and write of Oregon, and can almost be called the prophet of Oregon.

The presence of American settlers was extremely distasteful to the Hudson's Bay Company, not simply because they were Americans, but because they were American *settlers*. The officers of the company were instructed not to encourage them in any way.

Willamette River at Portland

It stood ready to sell to the settlers at a high price, but not to purchase from them anything whatever.

There were, however, other settlers than the Americans. In 1828 Sir George Simpson, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was then on an official visit to Fort Vancouver, took possession of the Willamette Falls for the purpose, as expressed by him, of locating there a colony of the company's retired servants. It had previously been the policy of the company not to permit settlements to be made by its servants whose term of contract had expired, such settlements being deemed detrimental to the preservation of this region as a fur-producing wilderness,—they wanted no settlements whatever in the section, neither British nor American.

This move at Willamette Falls was not persisted in, but a few years later some of the company's ex-servants located about Champoeg, on French Prairie, in Marion County, and became quite a flourishing colony. There their descendants live to the present day, useful and industrious citizens.

In 1835, besides the missionaries, there were about twenty-five men in Oregon who

were favorable to the United States, most of them being mountaineers with Indian wives.

At the close of 1837 the independent population of Oregon consisted of forty-nine souls, about equally divided between missionary attachés and settlers. With but few exceptions the arrivals during the next two years were persons connected with the various missions, whose advent has already been noted.

Up to this time the Hudson's Bay Company had adhered, except in the instance noted, to its policy of discouraging any settlements whatever, preferring that the country should remain uninhabited by all save the Indians and the actual servants of the company. When this fur policy came into competition with the colonial policy of the republic, the great English mistake became apparent, and when in 1837 a company of American settlers imported into the Willamette Valley a large band of cattle from California, thus unmistakably establishing an independent and permanent footing, the error was keenly realized. The company then resolved upon a radical and immediate change of policy, — to colonize the country

with the subjects of Great Britain as rapidly as possible and overwhelm the American settlers in point of numbers, while at the same time opening negotiations between the home governments for a final settlement of the mooted question of title, in which the great preponderance of English subjects would be urged as a reason why Great Britain's claim to the country should be conceded.

At this time settlements were made with reference to the possible division of the country on the line of the Columbia River, all Americans locating south of the stream and none but British subjects north of it. Dr. McLoughlin himself at this time selected a claim on the banks of the Willamette River, near the Falls (now Oregon City), and later, when he resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company, located there and became as good an American as any of them.

However adverse may be the verdict of history as to the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, it is a pleasure to state that all fair-minded Oregon pioneers regard the good Dr. John McLoughlin, who so long administered its affairs in the Territory, as one of the grandest and noblest

characters with whom they ever came in contact. His was a large and liberal mind, a warm and generous heart. He must be disassociated entirely from the company he represented, since he failed utterly to carry out its policy in spirit, although trying to conform to it in letter. Dr. McLoughlin was ever the sympathizing friend of the needy pioneer and liberally aided him in distress; and when called to account, in 1844, for not enforcing the company's orders to withhold from American settlers all assistance whatever, he resigned his position and became nearly penniless because of being held personally responsible for the debts he had permitted many distressed emigrants to contract for necessary supplies, — which debts, it may be stated, many never had the honor or gratitude to discharge.

Dr. McLoughlin died on the 3d of September, 1857, at the age of seventy-three, at Oregon City, Oregon. Among his papers was found a quite lengthy manuscript, in his own handwriting, narrating in detail his acts in connection with many events, and showing how his efforts to be just, kind, and generous to the settlers had not only failed to win him the good will of many of them,

or justice from the government, but had lost him the friendship of his former fellow-officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. This posthumous paper has been published in full in the "Transactions of the Oregon Pioneer Association."

Up to 1839 the only law or government administered in Oregon was the rules of the Hudson's Bay Company; but that year, deeming that there must be some authority which the settlers would respect, the Methodist missionaries designated two persons to act as magistrates. This was done entirely without the co-operation of the settlers, but the action received their endorsement, or, at least, was generally acquiesced in.

In 1840 the total population (not including Hudson's Bay Company operatives) within what now is a portion of Montana and Wyoming, and all of Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, was two hundred.

The necessity for securing some sort of government becoming more and more apparent, the matter was discussed from time to time by the pioneers. The missions of the American Board located east of the Cascade Mountains took no part at first in the organization of a government, the move-

ment being confined to the settlers in the Willamette Valley.

On January 28, 1839, Oregon presented to Congress her first memorial, petitioning for some sort of attention from the government. It was "laid on the table."

In 1840 Congress was memorialized a second time by the growing territory, pending action on which the settlers addressed themselves to the task of providing such government as was absolutely required for the security of their families and the proper conservation of the peace.

In February, 1841, the death of Ewing Young, an energetic and prosperous pioneer, imperatively called for some civil administrative action, as Mr. Young left no heirs, and no one had authority to dispose of his estate. Soon after his funeral a meeting was held at the Methodist Mission, near Salem, at which it was determined to institute a civil government south of the Columbia River, to the protection of which any person living north of that stream and not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company might be admitted upon application, and a committee was appointed to draught a constitution and code of laws. Nearly all of the

male population south of the Columbia assembled at this meeting, and sectional feeling ran so high that progress was a matter of great difficulty. It was found expedient to defer the election of a governor to a more convenient time, the duties of that office meanwhile to be discharged by the supreme judge, for which office Dr. I. L. Babcock was chosen. Other officials elected were: George W. Le Breton, clerk of the courts and public recorder; William Johnson, high sheriff; Zavier Ladaroot, Pierre Billique, and William McCarty, constables. A resolution was then passed that until the code of laws should be draughted, Judge Babcock should be "instructed to act according to the laws of the State of New York." The convention then adjourned, to meet again early in June.

Thus authorized to exercise probate powers, Dr. Babcock administered upon the estate of Mr. Young, which was devoted to the building of a jail at Oregon City, the first of its kind west of the Rocky Mountains. About twenty years later the Oregon legislature, pursuant to proceedings instituted by Joaquin Young, who proved

himself to be a son of Ewing Young, refunded the value of the pioneer's estate.

Several meetings were thereafter held to perfect the local government thus begun. However, it seemed to be the prevailing opinion that the settlement was not strong enough to sustain a government and not large enough to absolutely require it, and after ways and means had been thoroughly discussed it was deemed expedient to defer attempting local government until the government of the United States had extended its jurisdiction over the territory. Thus ended the first attempt to establish a form of civil government west of the Rocky Mountains.

The first regular emigration from the East, consisting of one hundred and eleven persons, arrived in 1841, beginning that steady stream of young and vigorous life which has annually flowed into Oregon ever since, and which is still coming, in number increasing steadily year by year.

There were deep and potent causes for this living stream to force its way through the rocky barriers and alkali deserts, and cut a deep channel to Oregon. Trappers who had visited the Pacific coast sang the praises

of the lovely and fertile valleys of the Willamette and Sacramento, where winter was unknown and the grass remained green the year round. The Western frontiersman caught up the refrain as it passed from cabin to cabin; and in a few years the tale was an old one with the hardy pioneers of the West. The publication of Dr. Parker's book, Irving's "Astoria," and "Bonneville," John Dunn's work on Oregon, and a letter written by Robert Shortess, who had come out in 1839, combined with a general financial depression in the then Western States, caused much attention to be directed towards Oregon, California then being a province of Mexico and consequently less attractive to American citizens. The two steadfast friends of Oregon in Congress were the Senators from Missouri, Thomas H. Benton and Lewis F. Linn, whose names are borne by two of the oldest and best counties in the State of Oregon. They never ceased to urge upon the government the necessity of taking some decisive step to perfect its title to the region of the Columbia, and to extend the jurisdiction of the law over this disputed country for the protection of American citizens who were making, and

might in future make, their homes in the far West.

Early in 1842 Senator Linn introduced a bill granting donations of the public lands to all who might settle in Oregon, his idea being that a liberal emigration alone could be relied upon to win the Columbia for the United States, and that special inducements should be offered to those brave and hardy people who must be relied upon to thus constitute the line of battle on the frontier. With all earnestness he supported this measure in the Senate, ably seconded by his eminent colleague. But Senator Linn's sudden death on the 3d of October, 1843, suspended for the time the vitality of these measures; yet, in the donation laws passed by Congress a few years later, the pioneers of Oregon reaped the benefit of Senator Linn's unselfish exertions, and received the fulfilment of that implied promise which had induced many of them to undertake the tedious and dangerous journey.

In the fall of 1841, in pursuance of the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company to colonize the territory, there arrived in Oregon a train of emigrants, consisting of twenty-three families, from the Red River

colonies, and they located north of the Columbia River in the Cowlitz River Valley. A number of them relocated the next year in the Willamette Valley.

The emigration of 1842 consisted of one hundred and nine people, fifty-five of them over eighteen years of age.

The "Oregon Institute" was founded in 1842, near the city of Salem. This was the first regular educational institution in Oregon, and has done noble work for the youth of the coast. In the same location, but known as "Willamette University," this school still thrives under the management of its founders, the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Early in 1843 the establishment of a provisional government was again vigorously undertaken. Much agitation of the subject and several preliminary meetings resulted finally in a call for a general meeting at Champoeg on May 2d of that year. At this meeting, memorably stormy in consequence of dissension in the American ranks and the strong anti-government sentiment of the Canadian adherents of the Hudson's Bay Company, the American pro-government element won the day. The officers

provided for by the report of the committee as adopted were immediately elected, as follows: A. E. Wilson, supreme judge with probate powers; G. W. Le Breton, clerk of the court, or recorder; J. L. Meek, sheriff; W. H. Willson, treasurer; Hugh Burns, L. H. Judson, Charles Campo, and A. T. Smith, magistrates; G. W. Ebberts, Reuben Lewis, J. C Bridges, and F. X. Matthieu, constables; John Howard, major; William McCarty, C. McRoy, and Sidney Smith, captains. David Hill, Robert Shortess, Robert Newell, Alanson Beers, Thomas J. Hubbard, W. H. Gray, James O'Neill, Robert Moore, and William M. Doty were chosen to constitute a legislative committee, whose duty it was to draught a code of laws for the government of the colony.

On May 16, 1843, in an unoccupied granary belonging to the Methodist Mission at Oregon City, the deliberations of this legislative committee were begun, and continued for several days. The results of this, the first legislative session held in Oregon, were submitted to the people on the 5th of July following, at Champoeg, and the organization of the provisional government was then completed; but so much factional

feeling and anti-American sentiment had attended its establishment that it was not until the large emigration of 1843 arrived, some two months later, creating a preponderance of American influence, that the stability of the newly established government was assured.

There were, however, a few occurrences prior to this important epoch in Oregon's history the effect of which upon subsequent events was extremely marked. These relate to incidents growing out of the intense competition between opposing religious elements for spiritual control of the natives.

In 1841 the Catholics made proselytes of the Cascades Indians, who had formerly been under the influence of the Methodist mission at The Dalles, completely winning them away. This greatly intensified the existing bitterness between the religious factions. The Catholics were rapidly growing in power and influence, the Methodists were as rapidly declining, and the missions of the American Board were making but feeble progress.

Aside from the ascendancy gradually acquired by the Catholics, there was another reason, heretofore referred to, why the

Protestant missionaries lost favor with the Indians, and this was their affiliation with the American settlers, who were regarded by the natives as intruders. The Indians did not want the whites to settle upon and take possession of the land over which they and their fathers had ruled for years. The English company encouraged the Indians to believe that the missions were but stepping-stones to American occupation, and this suspicion was corroborated by the conduct of those in charge of the Methodist Mission in the Willamette Valley, which had become the general headquarters for American settlers. The energetic and prominent part taken by Dr. Whitman in bringing immigrants into Oregon further strengthened the misgivings of the natives. The Hudson's Bay Company had been in the territory for years and had not taken from the Indians their lands, but had on the contrary supplied them with a market for their furs and horses; but the Americans, who were new-comers, were already taking away the red man's possessions, and these aggressive, unwelcome whites were arriving in larger numbers yearly.

The outgrowth of all this was a feeling of

bitterness against the Americans and the Protestant missionaries, in which neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor the Catholics were included; and this feeling was intensified from year to year. It was manifested in 1841 by insulting and threatening conduct towards the missionaries both at Waiilatpu and Lapwai, and in 1842 this became so alarming that an effort was made to check it.

Dr. Elijah White, who arrived that fall with authority as an Indian agent, paid a visit to the Nez Percés in November. A treaty was concluded, and the tribe adopted a system of laws in which the general principles of right and justice were embodied in a form suitable to the customs and condition of the Indians. The same laws were adopted by the Wascopums at The Dalles, but nothing was accomplished with the Cayuse Indians.

The next year Baptiste Dorion, a half-breed interpreter for the Hudson's Bay Company, upon his own responsibility circulated the story that Americans were coming from the Willamette Valley in the summer to take the lands of the Indians. This created great excitement among the tribes along the base of the Blue Mountains, and the young braves

wanted to go to the Willamette Valley at once and exterminate the settlers; but the young warriors were held in check by the older ones, while Peo-peo-mux-mux, the great Walla Walla chief, went to Vancouver to investigate. Peo-peo-mux-mux received from Dr. McLoughlin the information that he did not believe the Americans entertained such an idea, and this assurance carried by the great chief to the tribes allayed the excitement to a certain extent. Dr. White went up the following spring to hold a council with the Cayuses, and they adopted the Nez Percé law, electing Five Crows, who lived on the Umatilla River, not far from the site of Pendleton, as head chief. The result of this was to restore the feeling of security for a time.

It was quite well understood that the Indians were incensed only against the "Boston" people, but had nothing against the French and King George people, and they were determined the "Bostons" should not have their lands and take away their liberties. Just when the title "Bostons" was first bestowed upon Americans to distinguish them from the English, or King George's men, is a matter of uncertainty,

but it probably dated back to 1832, when Nathaniel J. Wyeth, a Boston merchant, entered Oregon to engage in the fur trade.

It was thus matters stood when the great emigration of 1843 arrived, demonstrating to the Indians that their fears were far from groundless.

CHAPTER XIX.

Emigration of 1843.

THE diplomatic negotiations between Great Britain and the United States which terminated in a treaty of joint occupation, the efforts of Hall J. Kelley and others to induce emigration to Oregon, and the struggle made by Bonneville, Wyeth, and others to enjoy practically the theoretical benefits of the compromise treaty, all had a tendency to turn the attention of the people toward the Pacific Northwest, and especially those hardy, self-reliant, and adventurous men who were then building up the powerful States which lie in the Valley of the Mississippi. They received more full, direct, and reliable information on the character and accessibility of Oregon than did the residents of the Atlantic slope, whose ideas of this region were largely formed from the depreciatory writings of English authors. A few books published by Americans, mentioned

heretofore, Congressional reports and debates, and other brief publications, had given those who cared to read them very correct ideas of Oregon. Trappers who had been there extolled Oregon's mild climate, and the story of the beautiful valley of the Willamette was repeated along the whole frontier. Oregon became a familiar word in St. Louis and throughout the region bordering on the Mississippi tributary to that great centre of the fur trade, and the "Oregon fever" was a household expression. The "Oregon Bills" introduced into Congress in the fall of 1842 by Senator Linn of Missouri attracted much attention along the frontier, and hundreds who had previously been deterred from following their inclination to emigrate to this land of dispute, becoming convinced that it was the intention of the government to assert in earnest its claim to this region, and that the bill donating to each emigrant one section of land would be passed, resolved to make the hazardous journey.

In these various ways quite an interest was stirred up in the Mississippi States during the winter, and it became generally understood, and was so announced by the

few papers printed along the border, that a large emigration would start for Oregon the following spring, assembling at Independence, Missouri.

The name of Dr. Marcus Whitman is prominently connected with this emigration. Although prevented by distance from participating in the various efforts of the settlers in the Willamette Valley to form a provisional government, his heart was in the movement. He was as keenly alive to the necessities of the hour, and as watchful of the true interests of the American, as the most prominent actors in the governmental agitation. As settlers arrived in pursuance of the plan of the Hudson's Bay Company to populate Oregon, this true-born American, jealous of his country's honor and zealous to promote her interests, realized, with the convincing force of a revelation, that nothing but a great and unexpected influx of American immigrants could thwart the deep-laid plans of the great corporation. It seemed to him that it was necessary for some one to return to the States and arouse the people and the government to the exigencies of the hour. He knew full well that the value of this mag-

"Willamette Falls" at Oregon City

nificent region was not in the least realized by the Federal authorities or the people generally, and became convinced that it was his duty to proceed to Washington with all despatch possible and enlighten the government upon the subject.

About this time, probably at the hands of the emigrants, Whitman received notice from the Methodist Board of Missions that it had decided to discontinue the missions, which were very expensive and were making unsatisfactory progress; and although this probably had something to do with his determination to go East, his conduct while there shows this consideration to have been a secondary one.

Whitman's associates in the mission work objected to the journey he proposed making and yielded an unwilling approval only when convinced that they would have to do so or lose the master spirit of their mission; hence he was officially delegated to proceed to Boston to transact business pertaining to the missions, in order to conceal the real object of such an unprecedented undertaking, — a winter journey across the mountains.

This feature of Oregon's history has been the subject of much controversy, which has

not been without its benefits. It has settled beyond dispute, in the minds of those who have given the matter just and careful consideration, the permanent and exalted position Dr. Whitman must ever occupy in the annals of Oregon. His character and his services to the American cause entitle him to first place among those whose memory the citizens of Oregon will ever revere and whom all true Americans should honor.

On the 3d of October, 1842, Dr. Whitman and A. Lawrence Lovejoy turned their backs upon Oregon, and boldly entered upon a journey they knew would be attended with hardships and suffering such as they had never before experienced. The only records of this memorable journey are a letter by Mr. Lovejoy detailing the incidents of the trip across the mountains, and detached and fragmentary statements by several men who claim to have conversed with Whitman on the subject, by emigrants who saw him in the train in 1843, and by several parties who saw him in the East, at St. Louis, Washington, and Boston. From the noble martyr himself there comes no word, save a letter written while at St. Louis the following spring, which incontestably es-

tablishes the fact that he was doing his utmost to promote a large emigration and to be of personal assistance to the emigrants.

Whitman reached St. Louis in February, 1843. He found great preparations being made all along the frontier to emigrate to the Willamette Valley, as has been previously shown, notwithstanding the prevailing opinion that wagons could not proceed beyond Fort Hall. He immediately wrote a small pamphlet describing Oregon and the nature of the route thither, urging the people to emigrate, and assuring them that wagons could go through, and that he would join them and be their pilot. This pamphlet and his earnest personal appeals were efficacious in augmenting the number of emigrants, though it is a fact that probably the greater portion of those who started from the border of Missouri in May never heard of Dr. Whitman until he joined them on the route. That Whitman's efforts added somewhat to the number of emigrants is true, but that he initiated the movement, or even contributed largely to it, does not appear. He was too late for that; the movement was well under way before his arrival.

After writing his pamphlet, his next

anxiety was to reach Washington before Congress adjourned, so that he might have an opportunity to meet Congressmen and urge upon them the claims of Oregon. He did not undertake to change his apparel, but in buckskin breeches, buffalo coat with headhood, heavy fur leggings, and boot moccasins he appeared in Washington on the 3d day of March, 1843.

Dr. Whitman found the ideas of Oregon entertained at Washington to be far different from those prevailing on the frontier. Public men possessed but a faint idea of the extent and nature of the vast area beyond the Rocky Mountains, deeming it a region of sterile soil and inhospitable climate. Since Lewis and Clark had subsisted upon dog meat, and Hunt's party had endured such terrible privations in passing through it, the country lying between the Cascades and the Rocky Mountains had been known as the "Great American Desert," and deemed fit only for the abode of migratory trappers and famine-afflicted savages. A year later, during a discussion of the Oregon Question in Congress, a speaker advanced this idea in the following language: "With the exception of the land along the Willamette

River, and along a few of the watercourses, the whole country is among the most irreclaimable, barren wastes of which we have read, except the desert of Sahara. Nor is this the worst of it — the climate is so unfriendly to human life that the native population has dwindled away under the ravages of its malaria to a degree which defies all history to furnish a parallel in so wide a range of country."

To demonstrate the error of this idea, and that Oregon could be populated by emigration from the East, was Whitman's task. He had numerous interviews with public men, including President Tyler and Secretary Webster, in which he urged upon them the importance of securing as much of that indefinite region known as "Oregon" as possible, declaring that, so far was it from being a sterile waste, its agricultural and timber resources were unbounded. Whitman directed the President's attention to the large emigration already preparing, and confidently declared that he was able to and would guide the emigrants through by a route over which wagons could travel to the Willamette. His earnest protestations made a deep impression upon many,

especially upon President Tyler, and Whitman was assured that if he would thus demonstrate the practicability of colonizing Oregon by emigration across the Rocky Mountains, it would have a powerful effect upon the solution of the vexed Oregon question.

When Whitman had accomplished the main object of his journey at Washington, he proceeded to Boston to attend to the official business which had been the ostensible cause of his visit. He then proceeded to his home, and after spending a few days there, hastened to the frontier to join the emigrants, some of whom had already started, and whom he did not overtake until they had reached the Platte, his appearance among them at that time being the first knowledge a majority of them had that such a man as Dr. Whitman was in existence.

This, very briefly told, is the story of the memorable emigration of 1843, referred to in a preceding chapter, which demonstrated to the world the often denied fact that there was a practicable route into Oregon for the white-topped wagon of the emigrant.

Following in the wake of the emigrants

came the party of Lieut. John C. Frémont, who had explored the Rocky Mountains the year before, and who had been this season despatched by the government upon an official tour of exploration to the Pacific coast. After spending a few days at Vancouver, he passed south, crossed the Cascades to eastern Oregon, continued south into Nevada, and in January, 1844, crossed the snowy summit of the Sierra Nevadas to Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley. The title of "Pathfinder" was bestowed upon him, though he was guided nearly everywhere by mountain men who were familiar with the country, and found the route to Oregon plainly marked by the emigrants' wagon wheels.

Thus close the events of 1843, leaving Oregon with a provisional government, and a population of intelligent, earnest, hardy American pioneers sufficiently large to determine its future as a constituent of the great republic whose institutions they had thus planted in these remote regions.

CHAPTER XX.

1844 to 1848. — First Census of Oregon.

THE emigration of 1844 was nearly as great as that of the previous year, adding some eight hundred to the American population, two hundred and thirty-four of them able-bodied men. This year also witnessed the first popular election held in Oregon,—at Oregon City, on May 14th,—which resulted in the choice of W. J. Bailey, Osborn Russell, and P. G. Stewart to constitute the executive arm of the government; and for the legislative branch, P. H. Burnett, M. M. McCarver, David Hill, and Matthew Gilmore from the Tualatin district; A. L. Lovejoy from the Clackamas district; and Daniel Waldo, T. D. Kaiser, and Robert Newell from the Champoeg district.

Individual depredations by Indians, rashly, indiscriminately, and ill-advisedly punished by settlers, resulted in trouble in the Wil-

lamette Valley in 1844, which served still more to embitter the Indians against the Americans.

Referring to the political situation in the settlements at this time, Bancroft says: —

"From the adjournment of the Legislative Committee December 24th to the election of 1845, the political situation of the country in reference to boundary was earnestly discussed by the leading men of both nationalities in Oregon, with a candor, courtesy, and dignity born of the greatness of the question, and with the desire to avoid the collisions threatened by the turbulent few. This mutual endeavor to understand each other could not but tend to produce salutary results, removing prejudices due to birth and education, and replacing them by personal esteem and private friendships.

"Among themselves, the Americans had other issues to consider. It is worthy of remark that the first three legislative bodies of Oregon made and adopted three different forms of republican government, without any disturbances that affected the public peace."

Following is the result of the first annual election, held on June 3, 1845: Governor, George Abernethy; Secretary, John E. Long; Treasurer, Francis Ermatinger; Judge, J. W. Nesmith; District Attorney, Marcus

Ford; Assessor, S. W. Moss; Sheriff, Joseph L. Meek; Representatives, H. A. J. Lee, Hiram Straight, W. H. Gray, M. M. McCarver, D. Hill, J. W. Smith, J. M. Garrison, M. G. Foiry, Barton Lee, Robert Newell, John McClure, Jesse Applegate, and A. Hendrick.

The Legislature thus chosen assembled at Oregon City June 24th, and remained in session for two weeks.

The most important business transacted was the drafting of a memorial to Congress, asking for a Territorial government and the framing of a new organic law for Oregon.

Owing to the scarcity of a circulating medium, the Legislature, in 1844, passed a law making wheat a legal tender at market price. Another interesting event of that year was the taking of the first census of Oregon, by the Sheriff, in pursuance of legislative authority. The total population reported was 2,110, but this figure did not include those living north of the Columbia or east of the Cascade Mountains, consequently represented only the population of the Willamette Valley.

The emigration of 1845 consisted of some three thousand souls, about one-third of

whom turned off at Fort Hall and went to California.

In 1846 some two thousand people crossed the plains, bringing with them 470 wagons and 1,050 cattle. At Fort Hall about one-half turned off and followed the Humboldt River route to California.

The emigrants brought with them the intelligence that the boundary question was again being negotiated and was in a fair way to be settled, giving the country, as far north at least as the forty-ninth parallel, to the United States; and this had a most cheering effect upon this small self-governed community. The annual election for representatives and county officers occurred June 4, 1846, at which time the following were chosen to represent their respective sections in the Legislature: Hiram Straight, A. L. Lovejoy, W. G. T'Vault, J. L. Meek, Lawrence Hall, D. H. Lownsdale, Jesse Looney, Angus McDonald, Robert Newell, A. Chamberlain, George Summers, Thomas Jeffreys, A. J. Hembree, J. E. Williams, John D. Boon, Henry N. Peers, and W. F. Tolmie.

An important event in 1846 was the founding of the "Oregon Spectator" at

Oregon City, printed upon the press brought in 1839 from the Sandwich Islands. The first number was issued in February, and it was the first newspaper upon the Pacific coast, since the initial number of the "Californian" was not printed at Monterey until the 15th of the following August.

The emigration of 1847 has been estimated at five thousand, fully two-thirds of whom came to Oregon, the remainder adding their strength to the Americans who were struggling to hold possession of California against the defeated Mexicans, from whose grasp it had been wrested.

The pioneers of 1847 brought with them many articles of great practical value which added largely to the means the people possessed of increasing their comfort and wealth. Among these probably the greatest undertaking, and most far-reaching in results, was the "Travelling Nursery" brought across the plains by Henderson Luelling. It consisted of about seven hundred small trees and shrubs planted in wagon beds, being a splendid assortment of apples, pears, plums, cherries, quinces, grapes, berries, and flowers, and gave to Oregon the name of "God's Country, or the Land of Big Red

Apples," a name that every pioneer of Oregon feels proud of. This was the laborious and modest beginning of Oregon's greatness as a fruit country; the soil, the climate, and the industry of her citizens did the rest.

At the annual election of officials, both Territorial and county, held on the 3d of June, 1847, there were 1,074 votes cast. Governor Abernethy was re-elected as chief executive, and the following were chosen members of the legislature: Medorum Crawford, J. W. Wair, S. S. White, Ralph Wilcox, Joseph L. Meek, David Hill, Willard H. Rees, A. Chamberlain, Robert Newell, Anderson Cox, W. H. Rector, L. A. Rice, Lewis Rogers, A. J. Hembree, J. W. Nesmith, N. A. Ford, W. St. Clare, Henry N. Peers, William Ryan, S. Plamonden, and John Robinson. The next and last election under the provisional government was held on June 12, 1848. The usual county officers were chosen, also the following members of the Legislature: A. L. Lovejoy, George L. Curry, J. S. Snook, William J. Bailey, Robert Newell, A. Gaines, William Portius, Ralph Wilcox, Samuel R. Thurston, Peter H. Burnett, William Mar-

tin, A. J. Hembree, L. A. Rice, H. Linnville, J. W. Nesmith, and Osborn Russell.

The emigration of 1848 was quite large, though statistics in relation to it have never been gathered. Many who had originally started for Oregon changed their destination for California, upon learning while *en route* of the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Whitman Massacre.

WHILE the Willamette settlements were thus flourishing, east of the mountains circumstances were leading up to an event which marks one of the darkest pages in the history of Oregon, — the Whitman massacre.

The occurrences which culminated in this savage atrocity need not herein be followed in detail, but can be summed up under three heads: (1) the widely varying policies of the English and the Americans in regard to the Indian country, the Indians being convinced that the Americans wanted their lands and that the English did not; (2) the entangling circumstances of two opposing religious forces struggling for supremacy among the Indians; and (3) the ravages of diseases imported by white men, which aroused the superstition, suspicion, and frenzied resentment of the savages.

The religious causes bearing upon the tragedy have been most fully exploited, and perhaps not always fairly. On this subject the following pertinent remarks are quoted from Bancroft's "History of Oregon": —

"The reader already knows the difficulty experienced by Whitman and Spalding from the first, in prosecuting their mission labor, owing to the unreasonable requirements of their pupils, their indolence, selfishness, and ingratitude for services. This was almost as much as could be borne before any sectarian differences arose to aggravate the disorder. . . . It was difficult to control indolent, impatient, jealous and overbearing savages, even when they were most strongly animated with a desire to be made acquainted with the white man's civilization. But the moment a controversy appeared among the white instructors, and it was observed that they denied the validity of each other's beliefs, and especially that they denounced each other as false teachers, the task became tenfold greater. The suspicion of the savages once aroused that some kind of deception had been practised upon them, it was not possible to allay it, particularly since so many circumstances confirmed it. A division, as I have previously shown, had almost immediately taken place, the Cayuses and Walla Wallas generally choosing

Photo. by George M. Weister, Portland

A Family of Natives on Indian Reservation in Eastern Oregon

the Catholic religion, and the Nez Percés the Protestant. . . .

"After this the usefulness of the missions as schools of religion and morality was at an end. A few perceiving the benefit of agriculture and stock-raising, tolerated the teachers, and so far imitated them as to raise supplies for their own families, besides selling to the immigrants."

At the Waiilatpu Mission things had been going wrong for some time. From the beginning, when Whitman first went among them, there was a small clique of Cayuse Indians who were opposed to him and his work, Tam-su-ky, an influential chief who resided on the Walla Walla River being at the head of this turbulent faction.

When Whitman returned with the great train of emigrants in 1843, these Indians pointed to it as an evidence that his missionary pretensions were but a cloak to cover his design upon their liberties, — that he was bringing Americans into the country to take away their lands. This feeling of hostility grew from year to year, especially among the Cayuses, through whose country the emigrants nearly all passed, and who were thus better able than the other tribes

to see in what great numbers they came and what a cordial welcome they received from Dr. Whitman.

In 1847 the emigrants brought with them dysentery, measles, and a form of mountain fever, which soon became epidemic among the Cayuses. Many Indians died in spite of the remedies administered by the doctor and the careful attention of his noble wife. The natives became frenzied with fear and superstition, and readily believed the stories of fiendishly disposed Indians, who told them that Whitman intended to poison them all.

Dr. Whitman was not ignorant of the true situation, and shortly before the massacre had reluctantly perfected arrangements to move to The Dalles in the spring. That he did not earlier make this change is incomprehensible. Bancroft says: —

"It must forever trouble the student of history to reconcile with his characteristic good sense in ordinary matters Whitman's persistency in remaining at his station when repeatedly threatened by the Cayuses and remonstrated with by McLoughlin for his temerity; and Gray's verdict, that he possessed a great obstinacy, seems justified. There were, it is true, good reasons for wishing to remain. It was

another case of the domination of the temporal over the spiritual. The Walla Walla valley had been his home for eleven years. He had expended much labor and money upon improvements. . . .

"But there still remains a question of whether it was a justifiable determination, under the circumstances, to remain and imperil, not only his own life, but the lives of all those associated with him, and possibly involve the colony of the Willamette in savage warfare. That he did this with his eyes open to the danger is clearly apparent. For even while he was transporting his mill to Waiilatpu the Cayuses were committing acts portending an outbreak."

It is well to let the horrible details of the massacre sink into the merciful oblivion of the past. On November 29, 1847, about fifty Indians assembled at Waiilatpu Mission, chiefly the relatives and friends of Tam-su-ky. Of these, only five actually participated in the bloody work, the others simply looking on and preventing the interference of any outsiders, and especially of the one or two Whitman Indians who happened to be present. The butcheries lasted for several days. Dr. and Mrs. Whitman were among the first killed, and some thirteen

or more Americans shared the same fate, while fifty or sixty, chiefly women and children, were taken captive by the Indians.

As soon as the news of the disaster reached the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver, Peter Skeen Ogden, an old and influential factor of the company, departed from that post with an armed force to the scene of the tragedy.

When the news of the massacre reached the settlers in the Willamette Valley, the Governor immediately communicated it to the Legislature, then in session, and called for volunteers. A public meeting was held in Oregon City that night, the 8th of December, and a company was organized for the purpose of taking possession of The Dalles.

When this company was about to move toward The Dalles, Ogden arrived from Walla Walla with the survivors of the massacre, whom he had succeeded in redeeming from barbarous captivity. The price paid for the prisoners was sixty-two three-point blankets, sixty-three cotton shirts, twelve guns, six hundred loads of ammunition, thirty-seven pounds of tobacco, and twelve flints.

The letter announcing to the Governor the

fortunate result of Ogden's expedition was dated at Vancouver the 8th of January, and was as follows: —

Sir, — Mr. Ogden has this moment arrived with three boats from Walla Walla, and I rejoice to say he has brought down all the women and children from Waiilatpu, Mr. and Mrs. Spalding, and Mr. Stanley, the artist. Messrs. Walker and Eells were safe and well; they were not considered to be in danger. The reports of the later murders committed at Waiilatpu are all absolutely without foundation, not a life having been lost there since the day of Dr. Whitman's death. Mr. Ogden will visit the Falls on Monday and give you every information in his power respecting the Indians in the interior. The Cayuses, Walla Wallas, Nez Percés and Yakimas are said to have entered into an alliance for mutual defence.

In haste, yours respectfully,
James Douglas.

This letter, written in the excitement and haste of the reception of the rescued party, was in error concerning the fact of three murders which occurred after the 29th of November, the day on which Whitman was killed.

On the following day the ransomed cap-

tives were delivered to the Governor in Oregon City. On the 17th the Governor indited a letter of thanks as follows: —

Sir, — I feel it a duty as well as a pleasure to tender you my sincere thanks, and the thanks of this community, for your exertions in behalf of the widows and orphans that were left in the hands of the Cayuse Indians. Their state was a deplorable one, subject to the caprice of savages, exposed to their insults, compelled to labor for them, and remaining constantly in dread lest they should be butchered as their husbands and fathers had been. From this state I am fully satisfied we could not relieve them. A small party of Americans would have been looked upon with contempt; a large party would have been a signal for a general massacre. Your immediate departure from Vancouver on receipt of the intelligence from Waiilatpu enabling you to arrive at Walla Walla before the news of the American party having started from this point reached them, together with your influence over the Indians, accomplished the desirable object of relieving the distressed. Your exertions in behalf of the prisoners will no doubt cause a feeling of pleasure to you through life, but this does not relieve them nor us from the obligations we are under to you. You have also laid the American government under obligation to you,

for their citizens were the subjects of the massacre, and their widows and orphans are the relieved ones. With a sincere prayer that the widow's God and the Father of the fatherless may reward you for your kindness, I have the honor to remain, your obedient servant,

GEORGE ABERNETHY,
Governor of Oregon Territory.

TO PETER SKEEN OGDEN, Esq.,
Chief Factor Honorable H. B. Company, Vancouver.

To which Ogden replied on the 26th: —

GEORGE ABERNETHY, Esq.,
Governor of Oregon Territory.

SIR, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your highly flattering letter of the 19th inst., and the high value you lay upon my services in rescuing so many fellow-creatures from captivity, but the meed of praise is not due to me alone. I was the mere acting agent of the Hudson's Bay Company; for without its powerful aid and influence nothing could have been effected, and to them the praise is due. And permit me to add, should unfortunately, which God avert, our services be again required under similar circumstances, I trust you will not find us wanting in going to their relief. I have the honor to remain,

Yours, most respectfully,
PETER SKEEN OGDEN.

This letter from Mr. Ogden was published in the Oregon "Spectator," February 16, 1848, with the following comment: —

"The act of rescuing so many defenceless women and children from the bloody and cruel grasp of savages, merits, and we believe, receives, the universal thanks and gratitude of the people of Oregon. Such an act is the legitimate offspring of a noble, generous, and manly heart."

Following these occurrences, the Legislature at once entered with energy upon the adoption of a series of resolutions and enactments with a view to creating a military organization of magnitude sufficient to chastise the Indians; and the citizens by subscriptions and enlistments seconded cordially the efforts of their provisional government.

In pursuance of legislative acts, a regiment of fourteen companies of volunteers was raised and equipped upon the credit of the provisional government. It speaks volumes for the brave pioneers of the Willamette Valley that they thus responded to the call of duty, supplying in most cases their own arms, equipments, and horses.

Thus was precipitated the Cayuse Indian War, which continued intermittently until

the spring of 1850, when the Cayuses were given to understand that peace could be procured by delivering up the murderers for punishment. At that time Tam-su-ky and his supporters, including many relatives who had not in any manner participated in the massacre, were hiding in the mountains at the head of John Day River. The Indians who desired peace went after them, and five savages were delivered up at Oregon City as hostages.

These were at once thrown into prison, condemned, and executed at Oregon City on June 3, 1850.

PART FOUR.

GOVERNMENT.

CHAPTER XXII.

Final Settlement of the Oregon Question.

THE year 1846 was a momentous one for the United States. It saw the settlement of the Oregon Question, which confirmed to the United States all that territory comprising the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the western and southwestern parts of Montana, and the northwestern corner of Wyoming. It saw also the beginning of the Mexican War, which gave us Texas, and the wresting of California from Mexican rule by Lieutenant Frémont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton. This was an exciting period, and the country was held in suspense for months over the controversy with England, during which war with that great power seemed almost unavoidable. The incidents attending the settlement of this great question are clearly and graphically described by James

G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," in which he displays a profound knowledge of the political intricacies of that period which carries the weight of authority with his language. Speaking of the period immediately following Mr. Polk's inauguration, when the Union consisted of twenty-eight States, equally divided between slave-holding and free, and when constant watchfulness and the closest calculation of political forces were required to maintain the ancient equality between North and South, Mr. Blaine says: —

"The Oregon Question, which now became associated, if not complicated, with the Texas Question, originated many years before. By our Treaty with Spain in 1819, the southern boundary of our possessions on the Pacific had been accurately defined. Our northern boundary was still unadjusted, and had been matter of dispute with Great Britain ever since we acquired the country. By the treaty of October 20, 1818, the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude was established as the boundary between the United States and British America, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains, as the Rocky Mountains were then termed. In the same treaty it was agreed that any country claimed by either the United States

or Great Britain westward of the Stony Mountains should, with its harbors, bays, and rivers, be open for the term of ten years to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of either power. This agreement was entered into solely for the purpose of preventing disputes pending final settlement, and was not to be construed to the prejudice of either party. This was the beginning of the joint occupancy of the Oregon country, England having with prompt and characteristic enterprise forced her way across the continent after she had acquired Canada in 1763. Stimulated by certain alleged discoveries of her navigators on the north-west coast, Great Britain urged and maintained her title to a frontage on the Pacific, and made a bold claim to sovereignty as far south as the mouth of the Columbia River, nearly, indeed, to the northern border of California.

"Nothing had been done towards an adjustment during the ten years of joint occupancy, and when the term was about to expire, the arrangement was renewed by special convention in 1827, for an indefinite period — each power reserving the right to terminate the convention by giving twelve-months' notice to the other. The President, John Quincy Adams, made the briefest possible reference to the subject in his message to Congress, December, 1827; speaking of it as a temporary compromise of the respective rights and claims of

Great Britain and the United States to territory westward of the Rocky Mountains. For many years thereafter, the subject, though languidly pursued in our diplomatic correspondence, was not alluded to in a President's message, or discussed in Congress. The contracting parties rested content with the power to join issue and try titles at any time by simply giving the required notice. The subject was also overshadowed by more urgent disputes between Great Britain and the United States, especially that relating to the Northeastern boundary, and that touching the suppression of the African slave trade. The latter involved the old question of the right of search. The two governments came to an agreement on these differences in 1842 by the negotiation of the convention known as the Ashburton Treaty. In transmitting the Treaty to Congress, President Tyler made, for the first time since the agreement for a joint occupancy was renewed in 1827, a specific reference to the Oregon Question. He informed Congress, that the territory of the United States commonly called the Oregon country was beginning to attract the attention of our fellow-citizens, and that 'the tide of our population, having reclaimed from the wilderness the more contiguous regions, was preparing to flow over those vast districts which stretch from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean'; that Great

Britain 'laid claim to a portion of the country and that the question could not be well included in the recent treaty without postponing other more pressing matters.' He significantly added, that though the difficulty might not for several years involve the peace of the two countries, yet he should urge upon Great Britain the importance of its early settlement.

"As this paragraph was undoubtedly suggested and probably written by Mr. Webster, it attracted wide attention on both sides of the Atlantic; and from that moment, in varying degrees of interest and urgency, the Oregon question became an active political issue. Before the next annual meeting of Congress, Mr. Upshur had succeeded Mr. Webster in the State Department; and the message of the President took still more advanced ground respecting Oregon. For political reasons, there was an obvious desire to keep the action of the government on this issue well abreast of its aggressive movements in the matter of acquiring Texas. Emboldened by Mr. Webster's position of the preceding year, Mr. Upshur, with younger blood, and with more reason for a demonstrative course, was evidently disposed to force the discussion of the question with the British Government. Under his influence and advice, President Tyler declared, in his message of December, 1843, that 'after the most rigid, and, as far as practicable, unbiased, examina-

tion of the subject, the United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific, and embraced between latitude 42° and 54° 40′.' Mr. Edward Everett, at that time our minister in London, was instructed to present these views to the British Government.

"Before the President could send another annual message to Congress, Mr. Calhoun had been for several months at the head of the State Department, engaged in promoting, with singular skill and ability, his scheme for the annexation of Texas. With his quick perception, he discerned that if the policy apparently indicated by Mr. Webster and aggressively proclaimed by Mr. Upshur, on the Oregon question, should be followed, and that issue sharply pressed upon Great Britain, complications of a most embarrassing nature might arise, involving in their sweep the plans, already well matured, for acquiring Texas. In order to avert all danger of that kind, Mr. Calhoun opened a negotiation with the British minister in Washington, conducting it himself, for the settlement of the Oregon question; and at the very moment when the Democratic National Convention which nominated Mr. Polk was declaring our title to the whole of Oregon as far as 54° 40′ to be 'clear and unquestionable,' the Democratic Secretary of State was proposing to Her Maj-

Photo. by George M. Weister, Portland

A Remnant of the Clatsop Indians

Living near the site of "Fort Clatsop"

esty's representative to settle the entire controversy by the adoption of the forty-ninth parallel as the boundary!

. . . . . .

"The patriotic spirit of the country was appealed to, and to a considerable extent aroused and inflamed by the ardent and energetic declaration of our title to the whole of Oregon. 'Fifty-four forty or fight' became a Democratic watchword; and the Whigs who attempted to argue against the extravagance or inexpediency of the claim continually lost ground, and were branded as cowards who were awed into silence by the fear of British power. All the prejudice against the British Government which had descended from the Revolution and from the war of 1812 was successfully evoked by the Democratic party, and they gained immeasurably by keeping an issue before the people which many of their leaders knew would be abandoned when the pressure of actual negotiation should be felt by our government.

"Mr. Polk, however, in his inaugural address, carefully re-affirmed the position respecting Oregon which his party had taken in the national canvass, and quoted part of the phrase used in the platform put forth by the convention which nominated him. The issue had been made so broadly, that it must be squarely met, and finally adjusted. The Dem-

ocrats in their eagerness had left no road for honorable retreat, and had cut themselves off from the resources and convenient postponements of diplomacy. Dangerous as it was to the new administration to confront the issue, it would have been still more dangerous to attempt to avoid it. The decisive step, in the policy to which the administration was committed, was to give formal notice to Great Britain that the joint occupation of the Oregon country under the treaty of 1827 must cease. A certain degree of moral strength was unexpectedly imparted to the Democratic position by the fact that the venerable John Quincy Adams was decidedly in favor of the notice, and ably supported, in a unique and powerful speech in the House of Representatives, our title to the country up to 54° 40′. The first convention for joint occupancy had been negotiated while Mr. Adams was Secretary of State, and the second while he was President; so that, in addition to the weight of authority with which he always spoke, his words seemed entitled to special confidence on a question with which he was necessarily so familiar. His great influence brought many Whigs to the support of the resolution; and on the 9th of February, 1846, the House, by the large vote of 163 to 54, declared in favor of giving the treaty notice to Great Britain.

"The country at once became alarmed by

the growing rumors that the resolution of the House was a direct challenge to Great Britain for a trial of strength as to the superior title to the Oregon country, and it was soon apparent that the Senate would proceed with more circumspection and conservatism.

. . . . . .

"A very bitter controversy over the question began in the Senate as soon as the House resolution was received. But from the outset it was apparent that those who adhered to the 54° 40′ policy, on which Mr. Polk had been elected, were in a small minority.

. . . . . .

"Under the influences at work in the Senate, events developed rapidly. The House resolution of notice was defeated; and the Senate passed a substitute of a less aggressive type, in which the House, through the instrumentality of a conference committee, substantially concurred. The resolution as finally adopted authorized the President 'at his discretion' to give the notice for the termination of the treaty to Great Britain. The preamble further softened the action of Congress by declaring that the notice was given in order that 'the attention of the governments of both countries may be the more earnestly directed to the adoption of all proper measures for a speedy and amicable adjustment of the differences and disputes in regard to said territory.'

"The Southern Democrats in the House receded from their action, and the modified resolution was carried by nearly as large a vote as had been the previous one for decided and peremptory notice. In short, the great mass of the Southern Democrats in both Houses precipitately threw the Oregon issue aside. They had not failed to perceive that the hesitation of the administration in forcing an issue with Mexico was due to the apprehension of trouble with Great Britain, and they made haste to promote schemes of territorial acquisition in the Southwest by withdrawing the pretensions so imprudently put forth in regard to our claims in the Northwest. Only forty-six votes were given in the House against what was termed a disgraceful surrender. These were almost entirely from Northern Democrats, though a few Southern Democrats refused to recede. Among those who thus remained firm were Andrew Johnson, Stephen A. Douglas, Howell Cobb, Preston King, and Allen G. Thurman.

"The passage of the modified and friendly resolution of notice dispelled all danger of trouble with Great Britain, and restored a sense of security in the United States. Immediately after its adoption, Mr. Buchanan, Secretary of State, under direction of the President, concluded a treaty with the British minister on the basis discussed by Mr. Cal-

houn two years before. The forty-ninth parallel was agreed upon as the boundary between the two countries, with certain concessions for a defined period, touching the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the navigation of the Columbia River by the British. This treaty was promptly confirmed by the Senate, and the long controversy over the Oregon Question was at rest. It had created a deep and wide-spread excitement in the country, and came very near precipitating hostilities with Great Britain. There is no doubt whatever that the English Government would have gone to war rather than surrender the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel. This fact had made the winter and early spring of 1846 one of profound anxiety to all the people of the United States, and more especially to those who were interested in the large mercantile marine which then sailed under the American flag.

"In simple truth, the country was not prepared to go to war with Great Britain in support of 'our clear and unquestionable title' to the whole of Oregon. With her strong naval force on the Pacific, and her military force in Australasia, Great Britain could more readily and more easily take possession of the country in dispute than could the United States. We had no way of reaching Oregon except by doubling Cape Horn, and making a dangerous

sea-voyage of many thousand miles. We could communicate across the continent only by the emigrant trail over rugged mountains and almost trackless plains. Our railway system was in its infancy in 1846. New York City did not have a continuous road to Buffalo. Philadelphia was not connected with Pittsburg. Baltimore's projected line to the Ohio had only reached Cumberland, among the eastern foot-hills of the Alleghanies. The entire Union had but five thousand miles of railway. There was scarcely a spot on the globe, outside of the United Kingdom, where we could not have fought England with greater advantage than on the north-west coast of America at that time. The war-cry of the Presidential campaign of 1844 was, therefore, in any event, absurd; and it proved to be mischievous. It is not improbable, that, if the Oregon Question had been allowed to rest for the time under the provisions of the treaty of 1827, the whole country would ultimately have fallen into our hands, and the American flag might to-day be waving over British Columbia. The course of events and the lapse of time were working steadily to our advantage. In 1826 Great Britain declined to accept the forty-ninth parallel, but demanded the Columbia River as the boundary. Twenty years afterwards she accepted the line previously rejected. American settlers had forced her back. With the sweep of our emigration and civilization to the Pacific

Coast two years after the treaty of 1846, when gold was discovered in California, the tendency would have been still more strongly in our favor. Time, as Mr. Calhoun said, 'would have effected everything for us,' if we could only have been patient and peaceful.

"Taking the question, however, as it stood in 1846, the settlement must, upon full consideration and review, be adjudged honorable to both countries. Wise statesmen of that day felt, as wise statesmen of subsequent years have more and more realized, that a war between Great Britain and the United States would not only be a terrible calamity to both nations, but that it would stay the progress of civilization throughout the world. Future generations would hold the governing power in both countries guilty of a crime if war should ever be permitted except upon the failure of every other arbitrament. The harmless laugh of one political party at the expense of the other forty years ago, the somewhat awkward receding from pretensions which could not be maintained by the Executive of the nation, have passed into oblivion. But a striking and useful lesson would be lost if it should be forgotten that the country was brought to the verge of war by the proclamation of a policy which could not be, and was not intended to be, enforced. It was originated as a cry to catch votes; and except with the ignorant, and the few whose judgment was carried away by enthusiasm, it was from

the first thoroughly insincere. If the punishment could have fallen only upon those who raised the cry, perfect justice would have been done. But the entire country suffered, and probably endured a serious and permanent loss, from the false step taken by men who claimed what they could not defend and did not mean to defend."

Thus was finally adjusted this long, hardly fought contention between Great Britain and the United States, — at least, the Oregon Question was practically terminated by the treaty signed on June 15, 1846, agreeing upon the forty-ninth parallel as the dividing line between British Columbia and the United States.

It was intended that this treaty should settle all questions relating to our northern boundary, but inadvertently it left open the question as to title to the island of San Juan, situated between Vancouver's Island and the continent. This minor boundary controversy, disputed for a period of twenty-five years, was finally disposed of by the provision in our treaty with Great Britain of May 6, 1871, submitting the question to the arbitration of the German Emperor, who, on October 21, 1872, made his award, sus-

taining the contention of the United States; and thus after a period of nearly eighty years dating from the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray, and after a period of nearly seventy years from the date of crossing the continent by Lewis and Clark, the whole question as to the ownership of the Oregon country was finally determined, and our northern boundary established as it is known to-day.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Territorial Government for Oregon. — Discovery of Gold in California.

So long as the international boundary dispute regarding Oregon was pending, memorials and petitions addressed by the people of that Territory to Congress could have no other result than to keep the question constantly and urgently before the government of the United States. This they did most effectually, but of course no Territorial government could be established over Oregon until all antecedent questions of sovereignty were settled.

When this had been accomplished by the treaty which was signed and proclaimed in the summer of 1846, nine thousand citizens of Oregon waited impatiently for recognition from the national government. Their suspense was not soon allayed.

In the congressional session following the signing of the treaty no act was passed es-

tablishing a government for the people of Oregon, although President Polk in his annual messages of 1846 and 1847 had urged the immediate organization of a Territorial government for Oregon. An appropriation, however, was made for mail service to Oregon *via* Panama; an Indian agent was appointed, also a postmaster each for Astoria and Oregon City.

One of the latter officials brought with him two letters for the people of Oregon. One was from James Buchanan, Secretary of State, expressing to the people the deep regret of President Polk that Congress had neglected them, and assuring them that he would do all in his power to aid them, including occasional visits from vessels of war and the presence of a regiment of dragoons to protect the emigrants. The other communication was from Thomas H. Benton, explaining the situation of affairs at Washington, where it was dated in March, 1847, and promising continued interest and assistance.

The assurances contained in these letters that powerful friends were laboring in their interests was a cheering thought to the struggling pioneers in the far West. It was

felt that a representative of the people direct from Oregon would be able to accomplish much, and Hon. J. Quinn Thornton, Supreme Judge of the Provisional Government, was urged by the Governor and others to proceed to Washington and labor with Congress in behalf of Oregon. Judge Thornton accepted the mission, and on the 18th of October, 1847, having resigned his judicial office, departed on his errand, armed with a letter from Governor Abernethy to President Polk. Judge Thornton was by no means a regularly constituted delegate, since Oregon was not authorized to accredit such an official to Congress, but simply went as a private individual, representing in an unofficial manner the governor and many of the prominent citizens of Oregon. He made the journey by sea, arrived in Boston May 2, 1848, and at once hastened to Washington to consult with President Polk and Senators Benton and Douglas, warm champions of Oregon, as to the proper course to pursue. By them he was advised to prepare a memorial to be presented to Congress, setting forth the condition and needs of the people whom he represented. This he did, and the document was presented to the Senate by

Mr. Benton, and was printed for the use of both branches of Congress.

There was still another representative of the people of Oregon at Washington during that session of Congress, — one with even better credentials than Judge Thornton's. This was Joseph L. Meek, mountaineer and trapper, who had taken a prominent part in organizing the provisional government. About six weeks after the departure of Judge Thornton, the Whitman massacre plunged the settlers into a state of mingled grief and alarm, and it was thought necessary to despatch a messenger at once to Washington to impart the intelligence, impress upon the authorities the precariousness of the colony's situation, and appeal for protection. Winter with all its rigors had set in in the mountains, but the dauntless "Jo Meek" unhesitatingly accepted the mission, resigned his seat in the Legislature, received his credentials as a delegate from that body, and set out on the 4th of January for Washington, accompanied by two men who had decided to go with him and avail themselves of his services as guide and director. Through countless hardships and misadventures, they reached St. Joseph safely in but

little more than two months after leaving the Willamette Valley, having made the quickest trip across the continent that had yet been accomplished at any season of the year; and Mr. Meek succeeded in reaching Washington only a week or two after Judge Thornton's arrival, though his news from Oregon was three months later. Meek was a relative of Knox Walker, private secretary to the President, and was well cared for during his stay at the capital. The intelligence brought by him, as well as his individual efforts, did much to aid Judge Thornton and the friends of Oregon in Congress in securing the desired legislation.

On the 29th of May President Polk laid before both Houses a special message on Oregon affairs, in which he quoted some passages from the memorial of the Colonial Legislature forwarded by Meek, touching the neglect of Congress, reminded members that in his annual messages of 1846 and 1847 he had urged the immediate organization of a Territorial government, and urged that the colony on the Pacific were now as then in need of federal aid, and were justly entitled to it.

A bill from the House committee on Ter-

ritories, of which Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois was chairman, "to protect the rights of American settlers in the territory of Oregon" was passed in the House on the 18th of April, 1846, but after frequent postponements had failed in the Senate. On January 10, 1848, Douglas, then a member of the Senate, and chairman of the committee on Territories, introduced in the Senate a similar measure, containing, however, some changes in the section which had been previously rejected by the Senate; but on May 8th, when Judge Thornton arrived in Washington, Senator Douglas had not yet succeeded in getting this measure before the Senate; and when, on the 29th of May, the legislative petition brought to Washington by Jo Meek was presented, together with the special message of the President, nothing had been done for Oregon in the Senate.

On the 31st of May, 1848, Bright of Indiana, in the absence of Senator Douglas, brought up the Oregon bill. Judge Thornton has audaciously claimed the authorship of this bill, and specifically alleged that he "incorporated a provision prohibiting slavery in Oregon." The fact is, however, that there is nothing in the bill of which Thorn-

ton particularly claims authorship that was not in the original bill of 1846, which was before Congress with hardly any alteration from December, 1846, until its passage with a few additions in August, 1848.

Weeks of discussion in the Senate followed the introduction of the Oregon bill. Containing an anti-slavery clause, it was as objectionable to the pro-slavery force in Congress as was the one which had been defeated two years before.

Under the lead of Senators Jefferson Davis and John C. Calhoun the pro-slavery wing of the national Legislature made a vigorous onslaught upon the bill, and fought its progress step by step with unabated determination, resorting to all the legislative tactics known to so delay its consideration that it could not be finally passed by the hour of noon on the 14th of August, the time fixed by joint resolution for the close of that session of Congress. The contest during the last two days of the session was exciting in the extreme, and an intense interest in the outcome was manifested throughout the Union.

After a stormy and memorable session, continuing through the preceding night, the

CHIEF JOSEPH, OF "MODOC WAR" FAME

bill creating Oregon Territory was passed about eight o'clock on Sunday morning, August 13, 1848, and received the signature of President Polk within a few hours after its passage.

To have the Territorial government fully organized before the expiration of his term of office on the 4th of the succeeding March was earnestly desired by President Polk, in view of the circumstances attending his election. He appointed Mr. Meek United States Marshal of the new Territory, and delegated him to convey the Governor's commission to Gen. Joseph Lane, then residing in Indiana, and unaware of the task about to be imposed upon him, — for such, under the circumstances, it really was.

With that promptness of decision and energy of action so characteristic of him — qualities which won him the title of the "Marion of the Mexican War" — General Lane accepted the commission without hesitation, and in three days had disposed of his property, wound up his business affairs, and begun his journey to the far-off wilds of Oregon. A small detachment of troops escorted the Governor and Marshal Meek, and after a journey of six months, by the way of

Mexico and Arizona, seven only of the party reached San Francisco, two having died and the others succumbing to the allurements of the new gold fields of the Sierra Mountains. These seven were Governor Lane, Marshal Meek, Lieutenant Hawkins, Surgeon Hayden, and three enlisted men.

At San Francisco they took passage on the steamer "Jeannette," and reached the Columbia after a rough passage of eighteen days. Ascending the Columbia and Willamette in small boats, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, they debarked at Oregon City on the 2d of March, 1849. The following day Governor Lane issued a proclamation and assumed the duties of his office, having succeeded in instituting the government just one day prior to the close of President Polk's administration.

One of the first acts of Governor Lane was to appoint marshals to take the census, as provided in the act creating the Territory of Oregon. This census showed the total population of the Territory to be nine thousand and eighty-three.

The new Governor issued a call for an election to be held on June 6th, 1849, to choose a delegate to Congress and members

of the Territorial Legislature. The total vote cast for delegate was 943, of which Samuel R. Thurston received 470; Columbia Lancaster, 321; James W. Nesmith, 104; Joseph L. Meek, 40; J. S. Griffin, 8. The apportionment of councilmen and representatives was made by the Governor in his proclamation. Following are the members of the first Territorial Legislature: Council — W. Blain, Tualatin; W. W. Buck, Clackamas; S. Parker, Clackamas and Champoeg; W. Shannon, Champoeg; S. F. McKean, Clatsop, Lewis, and Vancouver; J. B. Graves, Yamhill; W. Maley, Linn; N. Ford, Polk; L. A. Humphrey, Benton. Representatives — D. Hill and W. M. King, Tualatin; A. L. Lovejoy, J. D. Holman, and Gabriel Walling, Clackamas; J. W. Grim, W. W. Chapman, and W. T. Matlock, Champoeg; A. J. Hembree, R. C. Kinney, and J. B. Walling, Yamhill; J. Dunlap and J. Conser, Linn; H. N. V. Holmes and S. Burch, Polk; M. T. Simmons, Lewis, Vancouver, and Clatsop; J. L. Mulkey and G. B. Smith, Benton.

While Judge Thornton and Mr. Meek were representing the people at Washington, an event occurred that in a few years

wrought a marvellous change on the Pacific coast. This was the discovery of gold, on the 19th day of January, 1848, in the tail-race of the mill at Coloma, a place on the south fork of the American River in California.

As soon as this news spread throughout California nearly every able-bodied man hastened to Coloma, work of every kind being abandoned, and much property sacrificed. The excitement was intense. The news of the wonderful discovery was carried East by the various routes of travel. Hundreds of emigrants learned of it while slowly plodding along on the Oregon trail, and were thus induced to change their destination to California. For several years thereafter overland emigration was almost exclusively to the gold fields of California.

News of the gold discovery in California did not reach Oregon until August, seven months after the discovery. The effect produced upon such an adventurous class as were the early pioneers can well be imagined. There was at once a rush for California, chiefly overland, as vessels were scarce, and it seemed as though Oregon would become depopulated.

But this was only temporary. Family and business ties were strong enough to hold back many and to hasten the return of others. Not only was Oregon not depopulated, but she found in California the first outside market for her products that she had ever enjoyed. It was for her the beginning of actual prosperity. Besides the gold dust brought back by returning miners, California gold poured into Oregon in a perfect stream, in exchange for grain, flour, vegetables, beef, bacon, and food products of all kinds.

Miners pushed farther north every year, until, in 1851, they crossed the line into southern Oregon and discovered rich diggings. After the first excitement subsided, emigration again turned in the direction of Oregon, while great numbers, abandoning the gold fields, came north to settle in the beautiful valley of the Willamette.

From the beginning of settlement in Oregon the scarcity of money had been a great inconvenience, and with the growing population the absence of a medium of exchange became a serious evil. When, in the winter of 1848–49, gold dust began to arrive from California, the material for such

a medium was at hand, and the Legislature promptly passed an act for the "assaying, melting, and coining of gold," but the termination of the provisional government by the arrival of Governor Lane rendered the statute nugatory. Private enterprise stepped to the front and supplied the want by issuing what is known as "beaver money," somewhat after the manner in which the "gold slugs" of California were issued.

These coins were of five and ten dollar denominations, bearing on the obverse side the figure of a beaver, above which were the letters "K.M.T.A.W.R.C.S.," and beneath "O.T., 1849." On the reverse side was "Oregon Exchange Company, 130 Grains Native Gold, 5 D," or "10 pwts., 20 grains, 10 D." The initial letters were those of the men composing the company, — Kilbourn, Magruder, Taylor, Abernethy, Wilson, Rector, Campbell, and Smith.

The workmanship on the coin was quite creditable. The dies were made by Hamilton Campbell, and the press and rolling machinery by William Rector. When money became more plentiful, the beaver coins quickly disappeared from circulation, since they contained about eight per cent

more gold than the national coins, and are now to be found only as mementos in the possession of pioneers, in cabinets, or among the collections of numismatists. No one was ever prosecuted for this infringement of the constitutional prohibition of the coining of money by State governments or individuals.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Oregon becomes a State. — Discovery of Gold in Oregon.

THE year 1850 opened auspiciously for the new Territory. A custom house had been established at Astoria, and regular steamer communication opened between the accessible ports on the Willamette River and San Francisco. Oregon had at that time a dozen or more enterprising towns, — Astoria, St. Helens, Milton, Portland, Milwaukie, Oregon City, Champoeg, Syracuse, Albany, Marysville, Cincinnati, Hillsboro, Lafayette, Salem, and Lexington.

The people early aspired to the rights and dignity of statehood, and the question of framing a constitution was one ever present in politics. The adjoining State of California was admitted into the Union under phenomenal conditions, without passing through the Territorial stage, and this did much to render the people of Oregon discontented with a Territorial government.

But the most prolific cause of discontent was the length of time required to communicate with the seat of government at Washington. All laws passed by the Legislature were subject to disapproval by Congress, and it took several months to learn whether an act would or would not be thus rendered void. The same delay occurred in filling official vacancies, in imparting instructions for the guidance of officers, and in transacting all business requiring communication between the Territorial authorities and those at Washington. It was certainly an unwieldy and cumbersome form of government, and the people necessarily found it irksome and repulsive.

The military headquarters were at Oregon City in 1849–50, and at that point the greater portion of the First Mounted Rifles was stationed, the remainder taking post at Vancouver, Astoria, and on Puget Sound.

Three newspapers sprang into being in the winter of 1850–51, one of which, the "Oregonian," is to-day the leading paper of the Pacific Northwest.

In April, 1850, Governor Lane received notification that he had been removed by President Taylor, and Major John P. Gaines appointed in his place on the 2d of

October, 1849. Governor Gaines assumed his duties on September 19, 1850.

The general election for county officers and members of the Legislature was held in June. Besides the Governor the new Territorial officers were: Edward Hamilton, Secretary; John McLean and William Strong, Judges; Amory Holbrook, United States Attorney; John Adair, Collector of Customs; and Henry H. Spalding, Indian Agent. Joseph L. Meek retained the office of Marshal.

The legislative session which was opened in December, 1850, was in some respects the most important legislative session ever held in Oregon. But little had been accomplished the previous year, and it devolved upon this session to give Oregon a code of laws, and to legislate for the radically new state of affairs brought about by a Territorial form of government, the great increase in population, and the sudden commercial awakening. The Legislature was composed of the leading and representative men of the Territory, and ably performed its function.

Early in 1851 gold was discovered in southern Oregon. Thousands of miners crowded into the diggings on the tributaries

of Rogue River, and the town of Jacksonville sprang suddenly into existence. This opened another market for Oregon products, and added greatly to the prosperity of the Willamette Valley. In a few years quite a population was found in southern Oregon, exclusive of those engaged in mining.

The Indians of Rogue River Valley had shown a hostile spirit ever since the first Americans passed through their country, and numerous encounters occurred at this time between them and parties passing to and fro between the mines and the Willamette Valley. A few years later this region witnessed one of the most disastrous Indian wars on the Pacific coast.

In 1852 the emigration to Oregon was very great. The tide which had turned towards California during the few years immediately following the discovery of gold, again set in toward Oregon. Practical experience in the mines had served to dispel in a measure the glamour surrounding them, and people with their eyes turned westward began to realize that the homestead the government generously offered them in Oregon was preferable to the hazardous occupation of a miner.

The Oregon country which passed to the sovereignty of the United States by the treaty of June 15, 1846, comprised three hundred and seven thousand square miles of territory, bounded by the forty-second and forty-ninth parallels, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Ocean. It included the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, the western and southwestern parts of Montana, and the northwestern corner of Wyoming. That this territory was too large for admission into the Union as a single State was well understood, and the question of the division of the Territory received the attention of the Territorial Legislature in 1850.

On March 3, 1852, the bill creating Washington Territory received the President's approval. The new Territory embraced all of Oregon north of the Columbia River and the forty-sixth parallel, with Olympia as the seat of government. In 1863 Idaho received a government of its own.

After remaining in the Territorial state for ten years, suffering all the evils of partisan government and political strife, Oregon was admitted to the Union on the 12th day of February, 1859.

PART FIVE.

INDIAN WARS.

CHAPTER XXV.

Indian Wars.

THE Indian wars of Oregon, in detail, make a story formidable in length and grewsome in character. The scope of this narrative calls for only an outline of these events, sufficiently comprehensive to give the reader an approximate understanding of the extent to which the brave pioneers of the Oregon country were subjected to the harassing anxiety, wanton treachery, and bloody, relentless atrocity of barbaric hostility.

The causes of these wars, when minutely detailed, are apparently many and varied; yet fundamentally there was but one cause: the aggressiveness of the higher civilization, and the natural resistance of a barbarous, warlike people to the encroachments of a superior race, — the red man would not tamely recede before the on-coming white man.

Mention has heretofore been made of the Cayuse Indian War, which was precipitated by the Whitman massacre in November, 1847, and continued intermittently until the spring of 1850. This was the first chapter of Oregon's Indian wars.

Beginning in 1851, trouble with the Rogue River Indians was more or less continuous. Atrocities were committed from time to time by the Indians, and, with regret be it said, the whites retaliated frequently in a spirit of frenzied revenge, with cruelty and treachery as hideous as the red man's darkest deeds.

These mutual outrages continued at intervals, and culminated finally in what is known as the "War of 1853," and again in a long and bloody war in 1855.

Worthy of note here in connection with the War of 1853 is the fact that the indebtedness which grew out of that warfare was assumed by the United States. The muster rolls and accounts of all the eight companies of volunteers were made out and adjusted by the inspecting and mustering officer at the close of the war, were forwarded to Washington, and upon presentation to Congress were promptly acted upon. The volunteers were paid off in coin in June

and July, 1855. The total cost to the United States was about $285,000.

The greatest Indian war on the Pacific coast was the one — or, more properly speaking, the three — which raged along the Rogue River in southern Oregon, around Puget Sound, and in eastern Oregon and Washington (Yakima country) from the fall of 1855 to the summer of 1856. No less than four thousand warriors were at times in arms against the whites, and only a lack of hearty and intelligent co-operation on the part of the hostiles saved the outlying settlements from total annihilation, and the more populous communities of the Willamette Valley from all the horrors of savage warfare.

These Indian campaigns were fought by government troops and volunteers, were both defensive and aggressive, and ended only when the Indians surrendered and consented to live upon reservations set aside for them by the government, in accordance with the terms of treaties which the government entered into with the natives.

The claims against the national government growing out of these Indian wars achieved quite a history, the two sets of

claims — arising from the Rogue River and from the Yakima wars — becoming mingled in all congressional and official reports. In accordance with an act of Congress a commission was appointed "to examine into the amount of expenses necessarily incurred in the maintenance of the volunteer forces engaged in the suppression of hostilities in the late Indian War in Oregon and Washington by the Territorial Governments, including pay of the volunteers."

This commission began work in October, 1856, and after spending more than a year in careful investigation of these claims, "travelling over the whole field of operations occupied by the volunteers, during hostilities, and becoming thoroughly conversant with the matter," made their report to the Secretary of War. According to their examination the sum of $4,449,949.33 was due as the expenses on the part of Oregon.

This aggregate was exclusive of claims for spoliation by Indians, and included only what were thought to be the legitimate expenses of maintaining the volunteer force in the field. The report and accompanying documents were transmitted to Congress,

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE LEWIS A

ND CLARKE ROUTE AND THE "OREGON COUNTRY."

and on the 8th of February, 1859, were referred to the Third Auditor of the Treasury for report.

This report, which was made on February 7, 1860, was an exhaustive and voluminous document, and reduced the grand total of the claims of various sorts, acted on by the commission, from $6,011,457.36 to $2,714,908.55, a reduction of about fifty-five per cent. This estimate was taken as a basis for these claims, and by a subsequent act of Congress a sum of money to correspond was appropriated to pay them.

During the War of the Rebellion, from 1861 to 1865, and later, most of the Indians of eastern and southern Oregon were waging a continual, though fugitive, warfare against the few whites, miners and stockmen who had settled in that section, as well as waylaying the emigrants that were entering Oregon by the valley of the Snake River.

While there was little here of the circumstance of real war, force against force, yet the hostilities extended over a period of about seven years, and over a range of country as large as the State of New York. The "Modoc War" in the celebrated "Lava Beds" was one of the most stubbornly con-

tested campaigns in this section, and was not terminated until the summer of 1873.

In the summer of 1877 occurred the last, as also the most remarkable, of the Indian wars of the Oregon country. The Indians engaged were what was known as the "lower Nez Percés," under the famous chieftain Joseph, and it was known as "Joseph's War." The principal engagement, ending most disastrously to the whites, was fought just north of Salmon River, in Idaho, near the Oregon line.

"Joseph's War" lasted until late in the fall of 1877. Joseph was not only a warrior, but a master of strategy as well, and led the forces of the United States a long and wearisome chase over the mountains of Idaho and Montana, through Yellowstone National Park, and over the plains of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. The remnant of his band surrendered in early October to General Miles, who had come in with forces from the eastward, while General Howard's men were following the Indians' trail from the West.

This well-known episode in Indian warfare ended the Indian wars of the Pacific coast.

PART SIX.

PROGRESS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Oregon in 1904.

AFTER admission into the Union as a State, with all Indian wars and uprisings quelled and quieted, and with her boundary lines established as Oregon is known to-day, her history, so far as general interest is concerned, is the history of the United States, — a story of phenomenal progress and development.

Until the remoteness of the West from the East was annihilated by transcontinental railroads, growth and development on the Pacific coast were not marked. When the Oregon Question was finally adjusted in 1846, there were in the whole Union but five thousand miles of railway, and these were all east of the Alleghany Mountains. In 1850 the West had seventy-nine and a half miles of railway, all in Louisiana.

The year 1869 witnessed an event rife with meaning and promise to the Pacific Coast States, and scarcely less so to the Middle and Eastern States. This was the com-

pletion of the Pacific Railway by the union of its two great divisions, the Central Pacific and Union Pacific, which spanned the continent with iron from the farthest East to the Golden Gate, opening the West to settlement, and affording facilities for transporting its products to Eastern markets. Regular steamer communication between San Francisco and the Columbia River extended to Oregon a share of the benefits and advantages provided by the first transcontinental railway.

Railroad building was well under way in Oregon in 1868, and in 1870 there were one hundred and fifty-nine miles of railroad in the State. Very soon thereafter the California and Oregon Railway operated a line northward from San Francisco, while the Oregon and California Railway extended its road from Portland southerly almost to the California line, a regular stage line over the Siskiyou Mountains connecting the two termini, thus accomplishing through-passenger traffic.

When the last spike was driven on the Northern Pacific Railway in 1883, Oregon had direct transcontinental rail connection with the East. This was speedily followed by the completion of a second direct line,

the Union Pacific Railway, in 1884; and in 1887 rail connection between San Francisco and Portland was completed. To-day the Pacific Northwest is served by five transcontinental railways.

The measure of prominence with which the Pacific Northwest figures in national progress is not exceeded by any other section of the country, and it is most succinctly and forcefully told in the following table of statistical information, which summarizes, concerning the "Oregon country,"

FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS

	1850	1900
Population . . .	13,294	1,200,000
Wheat, rye, oats, corn, barley (bushels) . .	275,781	64,265,041
Potatoes (bushels)	91,326	8,876,058
Hay (tons) . .	373	3,045,244
Hops (pounds) .	8	21,548,277
Wool (pounds) .	29,686	39,949,786
Livestock (value)	$1,876,189	$83,106,380
Orchard products (value) . . .	$1,271	$2,317,735
Manufactures (value) . . .	$2,236,640	$175,000,000
Foreign commerce (value) . . .	(small)	$36,000,000
Gold, silver, copper, lead (value) .	(small)	$70,000,000

These figures will seem almost beyond belief to those who know little or nothing concerning the climatic advantages, scenic beauties, and vast natural resources of this section.

The climate of the Pacific Northwest is milder than the normal for the latitude, and is a matter of constant surprise to those who judge it from the geographical position of the country without an acquaintance with the actual facts, or the causes which produce in this section such different climatic conditions from those existing east of the Rocky Mountains in the same latitude.

As a whole, Oregon is a country of cool summers and warm winters, with absolute freedom from cyclones, blizzards, and severe storms of all kinds. The mean temperature varies with elevation, closely approximating 52° in western Oregon and that part of eastern Oregon below the level of two thousand feet. This mean is slightly higher than that of London or Berlin, but closely agrees with that of Paris and Vienna. East of the Cascade Mountains and south of the Columbia River Valley the mean temperature ranges between 43° and 51°.

Briefly stated, the causes of the cool sum-

mer are the high latitude and prevailing north wind during the summer months. This wind rarely fails for longer than two or three days, and, in consequence, any hot spell is of short duration. The mild winters are due to the warm Japan current which breaks all along the Pacific coast, and produces in this section the same effect as the Gulf Stream does in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

Snow is almost unknown in western Oregon, and in the eastern part of the State the snowfall is very much lighter than in the same latitude on the Atlantic seaboard. During the winter months there is in this section more rainfall than in most other parts of the United States during the winter, and this fact has given winter in Oregon the name of the "rainy season." But the winter is by no means a season of constant rain. There is such wide variation in the amount of precipitation in the different sections of the State that an average for the whole State is valueless as well as misleading. In some parts the annual precipitation does not exceed five or six inches, while there are localities on the coast in which the annual precipitation reaches one hun-

dred and thirty inches. The average annual precipitation for Portland is forty inches.

If Americans were but a little better acquainted with the possibilities of their own country in the way of scenic splendors, no doubt many of the tourists who annually seek diversion in Europe and other foreign lands would happily wend their way to the Pacific Northwest, a region magnificently dowered with Nature's marvels and beauties. There majestic mountain ranges, lofty, eternally snow-clad peaks, foothills, rock-ribbed rivers, waterfalls, lava beds, bays, caves, and lakes, in a beautiful setting of fertile valleys and verdant plains, would awaken in them a deeper love and truer appreciation of their own native land. Calling for especial mention, and worthy of a pilgrimage by every son and daughter of America, is the lordly Columbia River, which in natural beauty rivals the Rhine or the Hudson, and far surpasses them in sublimity.

The Columbia River and its tributaries drain a region as large as the combined areas of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland. This great water-way is the only fresh-water

harbor on the west coast of the United States, and is entered by the world's largest steam and sailing vessels. The foreign commerce of the Columbia River averages about $12,000,000 a year. Lumber, wheat, and flour constitute ninety per cent of the exports.

The State of Oregon as it is known to-day has a land area of 94,560 square miles, or 60,518,400 acres. Only about one-sixth of the whole land area is now included in farms, the total value of farm property being $172,761,287. There are in the State 23,355,816 acres available for settlement.

It is reliably estimated that Oregon's forests added $30,000,000 to the wealth of the State in 1903, and no other State in the Union has so large an amount of standing timber. Portland is the greatest lumber manufacturing city on the Pacific coast. Its mills cut 400,000,000 feet annually.

Anent the mineral wealth of this great State, the report of the Director of the Mint for 1901 says: "Oregon is rich in mineral resources. Fifty years have not sufficed to exhaust the placers of the State, and there is ground enough that will pay to work to keep them busy for fifty years

to come, while the quartz ledges of the State are practically untouched. It needs only a trip through the mining districts of the State to convince the most skeptical that a magnificent future awaits this grand State in point of mineral wealth." In the same report $2,052,433.09 is given as the total mineral production of Oregon in 1901.

Salmon constitutes the principal output of Oregon's fishery product, which for the year 1903 was valued at nearly $3,100,000. The Royal Chinook salmon is found only in the Columbia River, and is the richest and most delicately flavored of all food fishes.

In this necessarily brief reference to the resources of Oregon as an explanation and justification of the State's marvellous progress, only the most important factors of its natural wealth have been alluded to. Among these should be included horticulture, dairying, and stock-raising.

While Oregon does not yet rank among the great manufacturing States, its unlimited resources are rapidly being utilized by manufacturing industries. It is reliably estimated that the total value of the State's manufactured product for 1903 is $84,000,000.

Thus Oregon stands in 1904, with a population of 500,000, proudly answering the query which was seriously propounded in the Congress of the United States but a little more than fifty years ago, "Is Oregon worth saving?"

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